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OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. XIX [1957] PART II

EDITOR

V. S. AGRAWALA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

Head of the Department of Art and Architecture,
Banaras Hindu University.

ASST. EDITOR

A. K. NARAIN, M.A., PH.D.,

Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archæology.
Banaras Hindu University.

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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY
VARANASI—5.

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DR. A. K. NARAIN, BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY.

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NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS

By

A. K. Narain

The discovery of two hoards in Taxila exacavtions, one in 1912[1] and another in 1924,[2] consisting of 167 and 1167 punch-marked coins respectively[3], has provided a sheet-anchor of chronology to this series of coinage for many numismatists. Since the 1924 hoard contained two coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aridaeus—all in mint condition—as well as an old worn Persian *siglos* it was believed that the "hoard was buried round about 300 B. C. or possibly later".[4] And, since the 1912 hoard contained a coin of Diodotus II, also in mint condition, it was thought that it was "buried about the end of the third century B. C."[5] Apparently on this assumption and because the punch-marked coins of these two hoards belong exclusively each to a distinct fabric[6], some scholars believe that the 1924 hoard consists of pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins and the 1912 hoard represents the punch-marked coins of the Mauryan period.[7] Marshall himself however is of opinion, on the basis of his dating of the burial of the hoards, that the punch-marked coins of 1924 hoard "were being issued about 300 B.C." and those belonging to 1912 hoard were *current* about the end of the third century B. C.[8] Obviously, Marshall has not committed himself to call the 1924 hoard punch-marked coins as precisely pre-Mauryan. But whether these coins are pre-Mauryan

1. *ASR*, 1912-13. p. 42 *Taxila*, I., pp. 110-11 ; II., pp. 751 ff.
2. *ASR*, 1924-25. pp. 47 ; *Taxila*. I., pp. 105-6 ; II., pp. 751 ff,
3. I note some discrepancy about the number of punch-marked coins in the two hoards. Marshall in *Taxila* I., p. 110 tells us 166 coins in 1912 hoard but in *Taxila* II. p. 751 gives the number as 167 whereas in his earlier report *ASR* 1912-13 p. 42 he had noted 175 punch-marked coins in that hoard. Both Walsh and Allan in the chapters they contributed in Marshall's *Taxila* (pp. 843, 854) have adopted the number 166 as given in vol. I. p. 110. But Walsh in MASI. No. 59 p. 31 has followed the number 175 as given in Marshall's original report in *ASR*. 1912-13.
4. *Taxila* II., p. 751
5. Ibid., 751 *loc. cit.*
6. The punch-marked coins of 1912 hoard have a very distinct fabric—accurately rectangular with an occasional corner cut off and the edges sharply chopped. The punch-marked coins of 1924 hoard are also remarkably homogeneous and though their number is large the coins do not contain a great many varieties and are linked together by symbols, fabric and style. See, for a detailed study of the hoards, Walsh, *MASI*, No. 59 ; *Taxila*, II., pp. 751, ff, 843 ff, and 853 ff. ; P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*. XI, pp. 114 ff ; XII, pp. 136 ff.
7. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.*
8. *Taxila*. II., p. 751.

or early Mauryan, the important thing to bear in mind is that the chronology of the series is being primarily argued here on the basis of the date of the burial of the hoards[1].

A. H. Dani has recently asserted that the evidence from Taxila should no longer be advanced to prove the pre-Mauryan character of some of the punch-marked coins.[2] His conclusion is based on an analysis of the archaeological evidence and on a study of the materials found in Taxila excavations. P. L. Gupta strongly disfavours the idea of Dani but it seems to me that he has missed the real point at issue.[3] Dani does not seem to me as very much concerned whether or not the 1924 hoard consists of punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan period, but he is interested to prove that both the deposits are post-Mauryan. Of course, if Dani's contention is correct it may weaken the theory that 1924 coins are pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan inasmuch as it is based on the date of the burial of the hoards. But, certainly it will not affect if it is possible to prove otherwise, either on the basis of internal classification, style, fabric and other factors, the pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan character of these coins.

Undoubtedly, hoards must be studied in relation to their archæological context where that is possible and certainly in a scientific excavation where stratification is thorough the date of the burial of a hoard can be correctly arrived at. But it is not so easy to derive conclusions from Marshall's excavations at Taxila. His stratification at Sirkap at least was found to be incorrect in the excavations carried out by R.E.M. Wheeler and A. Ghosh.[4] Now, according to Marshall, "the smaller hoard of 1912 was found while digging in the compound of the bungalow where a small garden was later planted. This area was covered with the remains of a building of rough rubble stone, of which remnants of a few chambers could be traced. In one of these chambers, however, I found a small treasure in the shape of the punch-marked coins of debased silver, a very fine gold coin of Diodotus struck in the name of Antiochus II of Syria and several other pieces of gold and silver jewellery..."[5] This hoard belongs to Stratum I of Bhir mound.[6] The larger

1. Cf. for example, Walsh, *MASI.* No. 59. *preface*; Marshall follows Walsh.
2. *JNSI.* XVII., pp. 27—32
3. *JNSI.* XIX., pp. 5 ff.
4. *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 4., pp. 41 ff. cf. also, Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 31 ff.
5. *Taxila*, I., p. 110; *ASR* 1912-13., pp. 40-42.
6. *Taxila*, I., p. 110 I must note here that Dani has repeatedly misquoted Marshall by saying that the smaller hoard was found in Stratum II. cf. Dani not only in *JNSI, XVII*, pp. but also in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol, I pt. I pp. 112. Of course, it does not affect his arguments for he calls both stratum II & I as Bhir Phase B,

larger hoard of 1924, according to Marshall, was found "near the eastern limit of the main excavated area" and was "hidden in a small earthen-ware *gharā*" "near the top of the third stratum".[1] But it is worth noting that Marshall originally thought this larger hoard to belong to the second stratum[2] and did not make any statement about the stratum of the smaller hoard when it was first reported.[3] Obviously there is much confusion in the determination of the stratification of the area excavated by Marshall in Taxila and he could not help being confused himself because of the nature of excavations and the long period of time involved in the digging; it is not easy to corelate the stratification of excavations carried out in 1912 with those carried out in 1924, and more so if the method followed in digging is not really scientific. And then, the hoards in question were found in two different areas of the site far removed from one another. Naturally, we need not be surprised if Marshall talks sometimes of the levels and at other times of the strata in his study of the Taxila materials.

In the circumstances, Dani,[4] on the basis of an over all study of both the Bhir and the Sirkap, has attempted to distinguish two phases of Bhir: Phase A consisting of strata IV and III and Phase B consisting of strata II and I of Bhir. Further, he argues of an overlap between the upper strata of Bhir and the lower ones of Sirkap and on the basis of a comaparative study of the materials found in Bhir II and I on the one hand and Sirkap VII, VI and V on the other, he thinks that they actually represent one period of culture, which is post-Mauryan. The confusion between the uppermost layers of Bhir and the last ones of Sirkap is indeed very difficult to disentangle. There is no doubt, however, that the objects found in them appear to be homogeneous and they should belong to one and the same period ; that period should be from the very nature of the materials later than the Maurya. And when we add to all this the factor that hoards are generally buried and so they are found in a 'pit' which should be dated on the basis of the sealing layer, and for those who would think in terms of levels at least definitely later than the level in which they have been found, I have no alternative but to date the burial of the hoards in a period later than Maurya. Allan[5] is right to say that "the hoard was deliberately buried, so that its date of concealment is later than the stratum in which it was found (third or fourth century B. C.) might lead one to suppose. Whether it was a family hoard in which the earlier group of coins was added to a generation or

1. *Ibid.*, 110
2. *ASR.* 1924-25, p. 47
3. *ASR.* 1912-13, pp. 40 ff.
4. *JNSI.* XVII., pp. 28 ff.
5. *Taxila.* II., pp. 855

two later, or whether the owner invested all his wealth in these two groups of good silver coins we cannot tell, but the presence of the Greek coins indicates a date before which it could not have been buried and the general evidence from our knowledge of punch-marked coins indicates a late date of burial, probably the same as that of the other find late in the third century. Indeed, both may have been buried as late as the early part of the second century B. C., for the only historical reason we know for the abandonment of these treasures is the threat from the Bactrian Greeks. The date of burial was probably not long before the destruction of the Bhir Mound city about 170 B. C." Marshall's remark[1] on the above observation of Allan that "our knowledge, however, of the history of this period is next to nil" is simply an attempt to escape the question. So also the arguments of Gupta[2] are nothing mcre than hypothetical speculations. The relations of Seleucus with Chandragupta and the contacts which Asoka had with the Hellenistic world did not make it possible for a coin of Seleucus or of any of his successors to be present in the Bhir mound ! Moreover should this diplomatic contact alone be taken so sufficient a reason as Gupta thinks for the presence of subjects of Hellenistic character in Bhir II and I ? But to cut the matter short, even if one agrees with Gupta that strata II and I of Bhir need not necessarily be post-Mauryan, the hoards can be post-Mauryan deposits because they are, being deliberate burials, later than the so called strata in which they have been found. And I agree with Allan that the hoards were posibly buried when the Yavanas invaded Taxila.

The hoards are thus post-Mauryan deposits and we should not argue from the date of their deposits the pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan character of the coins of one of the hoards. But this does not exclude the possibility of arguing the pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan character of the punch-marked coins of 1924 hoard and calling those of 1912 hoard as later issues on other grounds.

One of these grounds could be the internal composition of the hoards. For the main argument of Marshall in calling the coins of the 1924 hoard as being issued in c. 300 B. C. is that Philip Aridaeus who died in 317 B. C. is represented in the hoard by one of his coins in mint condition. Similarly, the coins of 1912 hoard are supposed to be later because a coin of Diodotus was found in mint condition in the hoard. Archaeologically speaking we have seen that it is difficult to date the burial of the hoards before the post-Mauryan period. But suppose these hoards were not found in the excavations. Could it then be

1. *Taxila*. II., p. 855 fn. I
2. *JNSI*. XIX., pp. 6-7.

possible to date the hoard on the basis of the presence of the extraneous coins of Greek origin in mint condition. The answer is, yes, but not the precise date ; we can only be justified to say that the hoards were not deposited earlier than 317 B. C. in the case of the 1924 hoard and about the middle of the second century B. C. in that of the 1912 hoard. But again Allan rightly points out that "too much stress need not be laid on the three Greek coins, which were certainly not current at Taxila but had drifted down there from the North-West, just as they still do to Rawalpindi at the present day."[1] The three Greek coins in mint condition could come in the hands of the possesser of the 1924 hoard even a century or more later ; good coins, according to Gresham's law, are soon withdrawn from circulation and can remain in mint condition longer than we expect.[2] Perhaps Marshall's arguement could have become stronger had those coins been issued in India. But as things stand it is certainly not advisable to lay much stress on the presence of those Greek coins in mint condition in the 1924 hoard for dating the hoard much less for inferring the date of the issue of punch-marked coins contained in that hoard as a consequential suggestion.

In his bid to date the hoards and consequently the issue of the punch-marked coins contained in them in the period in which he has put them Marshall is forced to shift his position from one arguement to another. In one place he remarks that "not only do the levels at which the two hoards were found point to the larger one having been buried before the smaller, but the coins in the larger hoard are, as Mr. Walsh has rightly shown, of a definitely earlier type than the bulk of those in the smaller hoard."[3] I have already warned agaist the danger of arguing from levels and I need not repeat. But now we must come to still another factor which may enable us to know the chronology of the punch-marked coins of these hoards, that is, internal classification of the punch-marked coinage on the basis of type, style and fabric. We have seen that Marshall has taken for granted the analysis of Walsh in this connection and many others also follow him. We must examine therefore the study of these hoards by Walsh.

But it is curious to find that Walsh himself has dated the punch-marked coins of the two hoards not essentially on the basis of any internal classification of style and fabric but on the basis of the archaeological evidence provided by Marshall and the existence of extraneous coins in the two hoards. He tells us :[4]

1. *Taxila.* II., p. 855.
2. Narain, *JNSI*, XVIII., pp. 160, 162.
3. *Taxila* II. p. 751.
4. *MASI.* No. 59, *Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila*, p. 1.

"The most important is the hoard of 1167 Silver coins found in 1924, of which 33 are Long-Bar coins, 79 are Minute Coins of a kind which were hitherto unknown, and 1055 Silver Punch-Marked coins of the Older Class. The date of the deposit of this hoard is fixed, from a coin of Philip Aridaeus contained in the hoard, at about 317 B. C.

"The other Hoard of 176 debased silver Punch-marked coins of the Later Type was also found in the Bhir-Mound in 1912. The date of the deposit of this hoard is fixed from a coin of Diodotus, contained in the hoard at about 248 B. C.

"*These two dates are of great importance, as fixing the relative dates of the Older and Later Class of Punch-marked Coins*"[1].

But what is more surprising is when Walsh remarks later :[2] "From the consideration of the Coins themselves, it can be said with confidence that, whereas the coins of Alexander the Great and of Philip Aidaeus found with these coins, **FIX THE LATEST DATE OF THE EARLIER HOARD** at 317 B. C., the coin of Diodotus fixes the **CURRENT DATE** of the find ....,at 248 B. C."

Thus, not only Marshall and Walsh are arguing in a circle but also misleading each other. And certainly, Walsh has no justification in my opinion, to *fix the latest date* of the 1924 hoard coins at 317 and the *current date* of 1912 hoard coins at 248 B. C. because strictly speaking the presence of those extraneous coins of known date provide only the *earlier limit* of the period in which the hoards could have been buried; presence of these dated coins in the hoard does not preclude the presence of coins of later origin and if the dated coin, whether or not in mint condition, is of extraneous origin we must allow some time for its travel and other factors which lead to its preservation by the hoarder. In fact, it is because of these grounds perhaps that Marshall felt advisable to date the burial of the Taxila hoards about twenty to thirty years after the date of the issue of those extraneous coins in question, which too, of course, we have discussed earlier and found unacceptable on other grounds.

It is not clear on what other grounds Walsh has called the 1924 hoard coins as 'Older' and 1912 coins as 'Later'. He has not quoted any authority to show from where he got his idea nor has he himself given grounds for his assumption. The impression we get from the *Memoir* and the chapter in Marshall's *Taxila* is that Walsh has taken for granted his chronolgy for the punch-marked coins of the two Taxila hoards.

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1. Italics are mine.
2. Walsh. *op. cit.* P. 31. the words in capital letters are those of Walsh.

Walsh has remarked in his contribution to Marshall's *Taxila* that "punch-marked coins are of *two distinct kinds.............* The older kind of coins are larger and thinner and were usually cut in approximately rectangular or round form, whereas the later coins, although of the same standard weight, are smaller and thicker, and are rectangular. There is also a definite difference in the nature of the marks on the reverse of these two classes of coins . ..."[1] No one would deny that these are two distinct kinds of punch-marked coinage and Walsh himself, as is clear from his marginal headings, writes this to tell us about *two kinds of* and *not two periods of* the punch-marked coinage, and we do not know how far we would be justified to argue the date from the kinds of the coinage unless there is some time-determining facter. I do not find any basis for the statement of Walsh that, "the value of this fixed date is the cofirmation which it gives to the *already accepted conclusion* that the Punch-Marked coins of the small square thick-type, from which the subsequent square cast-coins were derived, are of a later period than the larger thin type of coin."[2]

Thus there is hardly any reason to regard the evidence of the Taxila hoards as of great value for the determination of a relative chronology of punch-marked coinage. But this leads me to another problem. What is the basis of the tacit assumption that the larger and thinner types of the punch-marked coinage are earlier than the square smaller and thicker ones ?

Allan[3] is inclined to regard the Golakpur, Paila and Set Maheth hoards of punch-marked coins as representing a currency distinct from the great majority of punch-marked coins and he states that "the occurrence of three isolated finds of distinct types certainly suggests that they are issues of smaller kingdoms or republics, and *are earlier than the great mass of videly distributed coins, for the latter were not found with them.*"

Durga Prasad[4] Says, "The coins of earlier periods are broader and thinner, of irregular shape with rounded corners, of a different standard of weight and impressed with a groups of only four crudely designed symbols, and rarely of fire. The shape of coins was apparently no matter of consideration in the very early days of coinage; only the weights and symbols were cared for chiefly. The silver punch marked coins of comparatively later periods are more geometrical in shapes, being circular, elliptical, oblong, and square, with clear corners, clipped or unclipped, thicker and smaller. They always bear

1. *Marshall's Taxila,* II., p. 843. Italics are mine.
2. Wslsh, *MASI* No. 59. p. 31.
3. *BMC. AI.* pp. lxx-lxxi.
4. *NS,* XLVII, pp. 51-52,

groups of five symbols, showing finer and geometrically correct delineation, and conforming to the thirty two *Rattis* standard weight."

But do not the analyses of both Allan and Durga Prasad emphasise the regional aspect of the punch-marked coinage? How far are we justified to derive the relative chronology of the two distinct types of a coinage when one type is exclusively found in one region alone? And does this help Walsh and Marshall in dating the two Taxila hoards? These are some of the questions which remain to be answered.

While discussing the mode of fabrication of the punch-marked coins, Cunningham[1] made the statement, "the earliest specimens are generally thin and broad, and of irregular shape. Some are oblong, and some are nearly round; but all are light in weight, and are usually very much worn." Perhaps this gave the due to Durga Prasad.[2] But we must note that Cunningham does not give any specific and conclusive reasons for his statement. Of course, this is not to write that I deny the possibility of Mauryan or even pre-Mauryan currency of the punch-marked coinage. It is only to warn against uncritical acceptance of the evidence from Taxila on this point as well as to indicate my difficulty in accepting finally the assumption that the broader and thinner coins are earlier than the smaller and thicker ones. Perhaps much can be said in favour of the general impression which most of us have, that the beginning of the punch-marked coinage may be placed in the Maurya period or even in the pre-Maurya period. But undoubtedly an element of certainty can be obtained only if the additional evidence of a scientifically carried excavation offers hoard or hoards of punch-marked coinage in association with materials of more definitive nature and a comparative study of the many intact hoards of punch-marked coins found in the different parts of India is thoroughly studied keeping in view the nature of their composition and geography of their findspots. Some time ago I had given some suggestions on this line to my friend Shri P. L. Gupta who is engaged in a serious study of this series of Indian coinage and I hope the results of his study will throw some welcome light on this vexed problem of chronology.

1. *Coins of Ancient India.*, p. 43.
2. *op. cit.* p. 51.

INTERESTING SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM MADHYA PRADESH

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA & BALCHAND JAIN

I

FOUR-SYMBOL COINS FROM MAHĀKOSALA

After the merger of the native states in the Indian Union, a lot of 162 silver punch-marked coins were found in the treasury of Sonepur State, which were subsequently transferred to the Orissa Museum, Bhuvaneshwar. They are of a new variety.

These coins are thin silver pieces, having four symbols as follows:

(i) Elephant with a small circle at the back.
(ii) Humped bull facing left with a dot near the mouth.
(iii) Two bulls yoked in a plough.
(iv) A solid oval surrounded by dots.

They were published in detail by B. B. Nath in this *Journal*[1]. He thought that these coins were the current coins of Orissa in pre-Mauryan period[2]. But in fact, these coins are more of Mahākosala area than of Orissa. Similar coins have been found at several places in Mahākosala, which unfortunately remain unpublished so far.

The coins of Sonepur type have been collected by Shri Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahākosala Historical Society, Balpur, from various sites in Chhatisgarh area. He procured 2 similar coins from Sambhalpur in 1948. Sambhalpur is situated on the left bank of Mahānadi and is the headquarters of the district of the same name in Orissa. Formerly, it formed part of Chhatisgarh division of the Central Provinces. It is about 40 miles north-east of Sonepur.

Shri Pandeya also acquired seven coins from Balpur, found on different occasions as follows:

2 on 19th April 1934
1 on 10th December 1936
1 on 1st February 1937
2 on 4th August 1939
1 in 1948

1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, 92-93 ; XV, 54-60.
2. *Ibid,* XIII, 93.

Balpur is also situated on the left bank of the Mahānadī and is about 21 miles south from Raigarh town and about 125 miles north-west of Sonepur. These coins were found in the bed of the Mahānadī, by gold-dust-washers.

Again, 15 coins of the same type were procured by him from an old gold-dust-washer woman from Tārāpur. Five coins were given to him on 19th February 1927 and 10 on 5th March 1927. Tarapur is situated on the left bank of the Māṇḍh river, a tributary to the Mahānadī and is 5 or 6 miles north of Raigarh town and is about 150 miles north from Sonepur.

All the coins from Sambhalpnr and Balpur and 5 coins from Tārāpur were examined by us. Of the Tārāpur find, keeping three for his own collection, Shri Pandeya distributed the remaining coins to individuals and Museums. Among the Museums, Nagpur Museum got 3, Raipur Museum 2 and possibly National Museum 3. The Nagpur Museum coins, were examined by us a little in detail. Two of them are broken pieces; they may have been meant for halves. We have their weights as follows :

1.	1·1823	grammes or	18·24	grains
2.	6·4654	,,	7·11	,,
3.	0·5699	,,	8·79	,,

Besides these finds in the Mahānadī Basin, this coin-type has its extension further west in Mahākosala proper. A hoard of 92 silver punch-marked coins was found in 1893 near the village Dhāpewārā, which is 5 or 6 miles from Balaghat town, headquarters of the district of the same name in the Madhya Pradesh, about 250 miles west of Sonepur. This find is reported in the *Balaghat District Gazetteer* and the two coins from the hoard is illustrated there[1]. 21 of them are in the Nagpur Museum (Register Nos. 1587-1607). Nothing is known of the remaining coins. It is not unlikely that one coin of the present type, which is now in the British Museum[2] and originally belonged to Cunningham formed part of this hoard.

Of the 21 coins of Dhapewara hoard in the Nagpur Museum, only 16 belong to the present type, four of the remaining (Nos. 1587-1607) are small blank pieces bearing no symbols. Possibly they were meant for coins but were not stamped. The remaining one coin (No. 1603) is a flattened piece with the figure of an elephant and part of the sixarmed symbol, showing an arm made of taurine in a cup or *maṅḍap*. This shows that it was a half-piece of the common five-symboled punch-marked coin.

1. *Balaghat District Gazetteer*, p. 67.
2. *BMC., A.I.*, p. 10 ; *C.C.A.I.*, pl. I. 16,

The sixteen coins of the present type were examined by us and their weights are as follows :

Coin no.	Weight in grammes	Weight in grains
1596	1.1773	18.17
1591	1.1644	17.97
1593	1.1410	17.61
1595	1.1353	17.52
1588	1.1343	17.50
1587	1.1283	17.41
1589	1.1211	17.30
1597	1.1187	17.26
1598	1.1006	16.98
1592	1.0907	16.83
1594	1.0902	16.82
1599	1.0466	16.15
1590	1.0321	15.93
1600	1.0254	15.82
1602	0.6875	10.61
1601	0.5838	9.01

The last two coins are broken pieces and may be halves.

This type of the punch-marked coins, seems to be intimately related with the punch-marked coinage of the Andhra country also, as known from the Singavaram hoard, found in the Krishna district in 1934, but unfortunately so far inadequately published. The coins of this hoard also bear four symbols and conform to the same weight standard, though in fabric they are a little different. On some of the coins of this hoard, we find two of the symbols that are seen on the present coins. They are (i) Elephant and (ii) two bulls yoked in a plough. These we have noticed on coins 3, 8, 32, 33, 45, 49, 61, 64 and 55 of Madras Museum collection. Again (i) elephant and (ii) solid oval surrounded by dots, which are seen on the present coins, are found on some other coins of the Singavaram hoard. We have noticed them on the coins in the collection of Shri S. D. Srinivasa Gopalacharya of Madras.

Thus this type of silver punch-marked coin had an extensive circulation in the Mahākosala area and had also influenced the coinage of the neighbouring Andhra country.

The period of the circulation of this type of punch-marked coins, can very conveniently be fixed with the help of the five-symbol coin found in the Dhapewārā hoard. The variety of the five-symbol punch-marked coin in the hoard is pre-Mauryan. In that case the present coins would be earlier than its date.

To us they appear to be the coins of period of the *Mahājanapadas*, anterior to the rise of the Magadha empire, and may be dated earlier than 600 B. C.

The coins of the Sonpur hoard has been identified by Dr. V. S. Agrawala as *Sāṇa* i.e. one-eighth of the *Śatamāna* the theoretical weight of which, according to him, was 22.5 grains.[1] The Sonepur coins weighed between 19.8 and 21 grains ;[2] as such they are very near to the suggested theoretical weight. But none of the coins of Dhapewārā hoard and Tārāpur find in the Nagpur Museum exceed 18.24 grains. The heaviest of Dhapewārā hoard is 18.17 grains (No. 1596). The condition of the coins is so well preserved that it is difficult to assume that they would have lost 4 grains. The difference in weight in the coins of the two finds is very significant.

II

MĀSHAKA COINS FROM ṬHAṬHĀRĪ

A hoard of 253 silver punch-marked coins was found in 1925 in the village Ṭhaṭhārī (Akaltara) in the Tahsil Janjgir of Bilaspur district of the Madhya Pradesh. Of them 85 were minute punch-marked coins, which are known as *Māshaka*. The rest were the well known coins of five symbols called *Kārshāpaṇa*[3]. The only other hoard where the two types of punch-marked coins were found together is the Bhiṛ-mound (Taxila) hoard of 1924[4]. While the Bhiṛ-mound hoard is adequately published, Ṭhāṭhārī hoard still remains unpublished. Only a part of this hoard was acquired and the coins were distributed to various Museums; but the complete list of the distribution is not available.

Of the 85 *Māshaka* coins, we could trace out the existence of 44 coins as follows:

32. Nagpur Museum (Nos. 195-224 ; 240-241).
3. Prince of Wales Museum. Bombay (Nos. 8995-8997).
4. Hyderabad Museum (Nos. 319-322).
3. British Museum, London (B.M.C., A.I., p. 287. Nos. 2-4).
2. State Museum, Lucknow.

Of these, the coins of the Lucknow Museum could not be available for examination.

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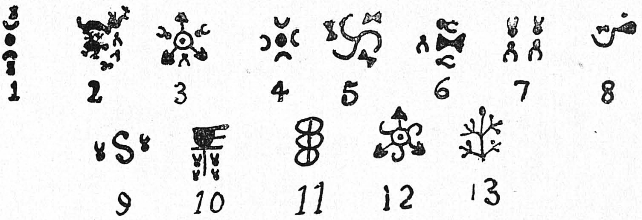
1. *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 24-25.
2. *Ibid*, XV, p. 55.
3. *Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch-marked coins of Ancient* India, entry no. 90.
4. *Punch-marked coins from Taxila*, M.A.S.I. No. 59

These *Māshaka* coins are all small globules, flattened with a symbol stamped on one side, the other side is blank. These coins are similar to those found elsewhere i.e. Taxila, Ujjain-Bhilsa, Jahangira, Maheshwara etc., They weigh between 2 and 3 grains. Most of the symbols found on these coins are the same as found on them, but a few are new, as illustrated below.



Coin Nos.	Weight in grammes	Weight in grains	Symbols
195	0·1715	2·65	1 (Pl. I. 18)
196	0·1578	1·43	1 (Pl. I. 17)
197	0·1607	2·48	1 (Pl. I. 16)
198	0·1819	2·81	1
199	0·1574	2·43	1
200	0·1425	2·20	1
201	0·1588	2·45	1 (Pl. I. 15)
202	0·1668	2·57	1 (Pl. I. 14)
203	0·1614	2·49	1 (Pl. I. 13)
204	0·1768	2·73	1 (Pl. I. 12)
205	0·1719	2·65	1 (Pl. I. 11)
206	0·1528	2·36	1 (Pl. I. 10)
207	0·1855	2·86	1
208	0·1481	2·29	1
209	0·1517	2·34	1
210	0·1538	2·37	2 (Pl. I. 9)
211	0·1499	2·31	2
212	0·1540	2·38	2 (Pl. I. 7)
213	0·1838	2·84	2
214	0·1657	2·56	2
215	0·1956	2·02	2 (Pl. I. 19)
216	0·1712	2·64	2 (Pl. I. 20)
217	0·1854	2·86	3 (Pl. I. 21)
218	0·1663	2·57	3 (Pl. I. 22)
219	0·1931	2·98	4
220	0·1569	2·43	5 (Pl. I. 23)
221	0·1813	2·80	6 (Pl. I. 24)
222	0·1815	2·80	7

Coin Nos.	Weight in grammes	Weight in grains	Symbols
923	0·1782	2·75	8 (Pl. I. 26)
224	0·1583	2·44	9
240	Weight not taken		Unidentified (Pl. I. 25)
241	,,		,, (Pl. I. 27)

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

8995		3·0	1
8996		2·0	10
8997		2·5	not clear

BRITISH MUSEUM

1		2·6	4
2		2·7	not illustrated in *B.M.C.*
4		3·0	do

HYDERABAD MUSEUM

319	0·1460	2·253	9
320	0·1596	2·463	12
321	0·1800	2·777	13
322	0·1758	2·711	2

III

LOCAL KĀRSHĀPAṆA COINS FROM MANGRUL

A hoard of 221 silver punch-marked coins was found in the village Mangrul, in the Hinganghat Taluka of the Wardha district in Madhya Pradesh. Of them only 174 coins could be acquired under Treasure Trove Act, the remaining 47 were melted by the finder. After acquisition, the coins were distributed to various museums in India and outside[1] and they were never published.

The coins of this hoard were the Kārshāpaṇas of 32-rattis weight-standard having five symbols. The most interesting feature of this hoard had been that it contained coins exclusively of one variety, which had been unknown elsewhere.

1. *Bibliography*, entry no. 89.

The coins of this hoard are thick square or rectangular and appear dumpy. They have on the obverse the following five symbols :

(i) Syun. (Symbol 1)

(ii) Six-armed symbol with arrow and taurines alternately placed. (Symbol 2.)

(iii) Hollow triangle-standard with two prongs on the right. (Symbol 3).

(iv) A taurine and a *swastika* in an oblong enclosure. (Symbol 4).

(v) A tree with broad leaves. (Symbol 5).

On the reverse all of them bear two small but distinct symbols (i) triskelis (Symbol 6) and (ii) dumb-bell. (Symbol 7).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A few coins from this hoard were published earlier but without any proper reference.[1] In a paper, published earlier,[2] three other sources of this type of coins are mentioned. They are (i) Ahraura hoard; (ii) Kasrawad hoard and (iii) Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection. But the informations given there are not correct. The coins that are attributed to Kasrawad hoard are in fact the coins of the present Mangrul hoard and were presented by the C. P. Government to Indore state and they were kept there in the Jawahirkhana, from where they were transfered to Indore Museum and were mixed with the Kasrawad hoard. As regards Ahraura hoard also the same mistake has crept in. Some coins of the Mangrul hoard were obtained by Shri Shri Nath Shah and Shri Durga Prasad, who owned the Ahraura hoard. As such they are quite distinct from the coins of Ahraura hoard, but these facts were confused together while publishing that article. The source of Bharat Kala Bhavan is not known; but since it came through a gentlemen of Uttara Pradesh, it was suggested that it belonged to that area. But it is in all probablity not correct. The only other place from where this variety of coin has been found is Koṅdārpur. A coin of this variety was discovered there, in excavations.

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1. *BMC.A.I.*, p. 56. (Class 2, Group XI, var. c); *N. S.* XLV, Pl, XXI, no. 142.

2. *J.N.S.I.*, X, p. 44-45.

The available evidence suggests that this variety of the five-symboled punch-marked coinage is local in nature and was confined to some parts of the Deccan. Such an exclusiveness has not so far been noticed in any other variety of this series of punch-marked coins. It seems that with the disintegration of the Magadha empire, the issue of five-symboled Kārshāpaṇas ceased in almost all parts of the empire, but it continued for some time in South India. Besides these exclusive coins of Mangrul hoard, we have another five-symbol coins of an exclusive territorial nature from Bodinaikkanur in the Periyakulam Taluka of Madura district.[1]

1. *Ibid*, VI, 1.

RŪPAKA—A COIN DENOMINATION.

R.C. AGRAWALA

The utter paucity of any reference to silver currency in the Vedic literature is to be noted with great interest at the present moment, though silver coinage has been frequently referred to by the *Srautasūtras*, Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, the *Tripiṭakas* and the *Jātaka* literature[1]. The *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* alludes to silver *Śatamāna* coins[2] whereas Pāṇini presents a vivid account of the *Śatamāna*, *Śāṇa* and *Kārshāpaṇa* coinage of the same metal[3]. This led Dr. Altekar[4] to remark with sufficient justification that "silver currency was thus quite established in society earlier than the times of the Buddha and we may safely take its antiquity to *circa* 700 B.C."

It is interesting to learn the use of the word *rūpa* in Pāṇini's *Sūtra* (V. 2. 120) in the sense of a 'punch-marked symbol'—रूपाद् आहत प्रशंसयोर्यप[5], but the word *rūpaka*, as a coin-denomination, is conspicuous by its absence there. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (chap. XXXIII) of course makes a reference to silver (*rūpya-rūpa*) and copper (*tāmra-rūpa*) coins.[6] It (chap. II, 9) also mentions an officer called *Rūpadarśaka* i.e. Examiner of coins. Patañjali, in his commentary on a *Vārttika* to Pāṇini's *sūtra* I, 4, 52, refers to an officer called *Rūpatarka* whose duty was to scrutinise the *kārshāpaṇas* which were in circulation in the contemporary market[7]. The use of the word *rūpa* as a 'coin' was thus well known in the times of Kauṭilya and Paṭañjali. This is also corroborated by literary evidence from the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*[8]. Buddhaghosha, while commenting on the passage from the *Mahāvagga*[9] speaks of the *Rūpasutta* which can only mean a "set of rules concerning coins", in other words, 'a treatise on coinage'.[10]

1. RŪPAKA—A SILVER COIN

The Baigram Copper Plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (=447–8 A.D.) makes a specific reference to *dīnāras* and

1. A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, XV(i), p. 21.
2. *JNSI*, *op cit.*; cf. V.S. Agrawala, *ibid*, pp. 29ff.
3. V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*
4. *Op. cit.* p. 25.
5. Cf. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.
6. D.C. Sircar, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 132-3; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 129-30.
7. पश्यति रूपतर्कः कार्षापणम् ; I. 337 as cited by V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.* p. 38 ; cf. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
8. I. 340, as cited by V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit* , p. 38.
9. *S.B-E.*, XIII pp. 201ff.
10. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

rūpakas :—षड्दीनारानष्ट च रूपकानायीकृत्य[1] in the sense of gold and silver coinage of the Guptas respectively. It may also be deduced from the contents of the same epigraph that one *dīnāra* was probably equal to 13 *rūpakas* as early as the 5th century A.D.[2] It is equally interesting to find that fines used to be imposed in the shape of *rūpaka* coins during the 6th century A.D. A contemporary inscription from Gujrat[3] records the following fines :— 6¼ *Rūpakas* for abusing and assault ; 48 *Rūpakas* for the infliction of wounds. Vishṇu (V. 66-7) prescribes a punishment of 36 and 64 copper *paṇas* respectively for the same offences[4]. According to Vishṇugupta (quoted in *Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa*) 1 रूपक = 1/70th of a सुवर्ण and 1 दीनार = 28 रूपक[5] Vishṇugupta refers to the form of the coin as *Ropaka* (रोपक) ie." दीनारो रोपकैरष्ट विंशत्या परिकीर्त्तितः । सुवर्ण सप्ततितमो भागो रोपकोच्यते" विष्णुगुप्ते सप्तमांशाधिकहेमरक्तिका रूप रोपकैरष्टाविंशत्या परिमिते ·· ··· ···· as cited in the *Vāchaspatyakośa*, Vol. V, p. 3604. D. R. Bhandarkar[6] has remarked that in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, V. 1, 48-9, "*rūpaka* is used in the sense of a coin". The *rūpaka* coins have also been alluded to in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*[7] along with *Kārshāpaṇas* and *Kṛishṇalas* in connection with the prices of pearls.

माषक चतुष्टयधृतस्वैकस्य शताहता त्रिपञ्चाशत् ।
कार्षापणा निगदिता मूल्यं तेजोगुणयुतस्य ॥ ९ ॥
माषकदलहान्याऽतो द्वात्रिंशद्विंशातिस्त्रयोदश च ।
अष्टौ शतानि च शतत्रयं त्रिपञ्चाशता सहितम् ॥ १० ॥
पञ्चत्रिंशं शतमिति चत्वारः कृष्णला नवतिमूल्याः ।
सार्द्धास्तिस्रो गुंजाः सप्ततिमूल्यं धृतं रूपम् ॥ ११ ॥
गुंजास्त्रयस्य मूल्यं पञ्चाशद्रूपका गुणयुतस्य ।
रूपकपञ्च त्रिंशत्त्रयस्य गुंजार्धहीनस्य ॥१२॥
पलदशभागो धरणं तद्यादिसुक्तास्त्रयोदश सुरूपाः ।
त्रिशती सपञ्चविंशा रूपकसंख्या कृतं मूल्यं ॥१३॥
षोडशकस्य द्विशती विंशतिरूपस्य सप्ततिः सशता ।
यत्पञ्चविंशतिधृतं तस्य शतं त्रिंशता सहितम् ॥१४॥

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1. *Ep. ind.*, XXI, p. 81.
2. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 343, f. n. 5; A.S. Altekar, *JNSI.*, II, pp. 5-6.
3. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XVI, p. 118 as cited in *JNSI*, XIV, p. 139.
4. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 139.
5. P.V., Kane, *History of the Dharmasastras*, Vol. III, Poona, p. 122 f.n. 1' 2.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 131, f.n. 2.
7. Navalkishore Press ed , 1884, Lucknow, chap. 81.

त्रिंशत्सप्तति मूल्या चत्वारिंशच्छतार्धमूल्या च ।
षष्टिः पंचोना वा धरणं पंचाष्टकं मूल्यम् ॥१५॥
मुक्ताशीत्यास्त्रिंशच्छतस्य सा पंचरूपकविहीना ।
द्वित्रिचतुःपंचशता द्वादश षट् पंचकत्रितयम् ॥१६॥

Kshīrasvāmi, the celebrated commentator on the *Amarakosha*, who possibly flourished in the 11th century A. D., refers to a *kārshāpaṇa* as a silver *rūpaka* :— कर्षसम्बन्धिना व्यवह्रियते ऽनेन रूप्य-रूपकेण कार्षापणः, कर्षप्रमाणमस्य कार्षिकः । ताम्रमयं कर्षप्रमाणं तु रूप्यं पणः.........[1] Here रूप्य-रूपक denotes a 'silver coin' whereas the copper one (*tāmramaya*) was called as a *paṇa*.

The commentary[2] on the *Bṛihatkalpabhāshya*[3] furnishes very interesting information with regard to the relative values of silver coins (*rūpaka*) of Sābharakadvīpa, Uttarāpatha, Dakshiṇāpatha etc., : द्वीपं नाम सुराष्ट्राया दक्षिणस्यां दिशि समुद्रमवगाह्य यद्वर्तते तदीयौ द्वौ साभरकौ रूपकौ स उत्तरापथे एको रूपको भवति । द्वौ च उत्तरापथरूपकौ पाटलिपुत्रक एको रूपको भवति । अथवा दक्षिणापथौ द्वौ रूपकौ काञ्चीपुर्यां द्रविडविषयप्रतिबद्धायाः एकः नेलकः भवति । सः काञ्चीपुरी-रूपको द्विगुणितः सन् कुसुमनगर सत्क एको रूपको भवति । कुसुमपुरं पाटलिपुत्रमभिधीयते ।

II. RŪPAKA AND DRAMMA COINS.

A detailed account of the *drammas* in ancient Indian epigraphs and literature has already been published by me[4]. An inscription of V. S. 1228 (=1171 A.D.) from Dhod, Udaipur region refers to the silver coins of Chauhan Emperor Ajayadeva as रौप्यमयी श्रीअजयदेव मुद्रांकित द्रम्म १६ षोडश गृहीतं[5] Still more the *Pṛithvīrāja-Vijaya Mahākāvya*[6] calls these *drammas* as *Ajayapriya Rūpakas* :—

स दुर्वर्णमयैः भूमिं रूपकैः पर्य्यपूरयत् । तां सुवर्णमयैस्तत्र कविवर्गस्त्वपूरयत् ॥८८॥
कीर्त्तिं स वर्तमानानां भटैर्जह्रे जयप्रियैः । अतीतानागतानां तु रूपकैरजयप्रियैः ॥८९॥

The words *dramma* and *rūpaka*, in this particular case, have been used in an identical sense ; the latter of course denoting a silver coin in general. Jonarāja, while commenting on the aforesaid coins of Ajayadeva in the *Pṛithvīrāja Vijaya Mahākāvya* (*op. cit.*, edited by G. H. Ojha, 1941, Ajmer, p. 121), defines them

1. Cf. *JNSI.*, XIV, p. 131.
2. Commentary of Kshemakīrtti, *circa* 1332 V. S.—as cited by U. P. Shah in *JNSI.*, XIV, p. 109 and *Journal of M. S. University of Baroda*, III(i), 1954, p. 55. U. P. Shah [*J. of M. S. University, op.cit.*, p. 52] interprets *rūvaga (raupyaga)* of Haribhadra as a general term denoting "silver coin-units or *hemidrachms* issued later by Indo-Bactrians, Parthians and Scythians".
3. Vol. IV, p. 1059, verses 3891-2.
4. *JNSI.*, XVII, 1905, pp. 64-82.
5. Cf. *Nāgarī Prāchāriṇī Patrikā*, Banaras, (Hindi) xlv, p. 358 ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 200.
6. Canto V ; cf. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 72.

as अजयस्य राज्ञः प्रियैः रूपकैः दीनारविशेषैः, thus identifying the word *rūpaka* with a *dīnāra.*

The Bījāpur—Haṭundi (Mārwār) inscription of 997 A.D. makes a reference to the *Rūpakas* in addition to *Karsha* and *Viṃśopaka*[1] coins (*Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 24 ff.). The enumeration of *rūpaka, dramma* and *Drammārdha-Viṃśaka*[2] together in an Inscription of V. S. 1010 (=953 A. D.) from Udaipur[3] is all the more interesting : द्रम्ममेकं करी दद्यात्तुरगो रूपकद्वयम् । द्रम्मार्धविंशकं श्रृंगी लाटहट्टे तुलाढकौ ॥ The close association of *Rūpakas, Drammas* and *Vrisha-Viṃśopakas*[4] in the Arthūṇā Inscription of V. S. 1139=1079 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 302) is in no way less interesting. The *rūpaka* coins were in circulation in Rajasthan during the 10th-11th centuries A.D. The Nāḍol grant of V. S. 1213=1156 A.D.; (*Ind. Ant.*, xli, 1912, pp. 202-3) mentions a grant of one *rūpaka* per day from the custom-house of Badari for some Jaina temple at Nāḍol (Marwar). *Rūpaka* also occures in its abbreviated[5] form, such as *rūā* and *ru* i.e. रूआ २ रु १ in the Nāḍol Inscription of V. S. 1202=1145 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 42-3). In the Soḍhaḍli Vāv Inscription at Mangrol, Southern Kathiawad and dated V.S. 1202, the word *rūpaka* is mentioned as—तथा लाठिप्रद्रापथके ठ० मुलूकेन रूपकैकः प्रदत्तः[6] रूअडउ of Hemachandra's Prākṛit Grammar [4.419—धाम्मि न बेच्चइ रूअडउ] appears to be identical with *ru, rūā, rūpaka* etc.

From Srīdhara's commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*[7] we learn that 1 *dramma*[8] was equal to 5 *rūpakas*, the latter having been denoted by *rūā* and *rūe* :—५ रूए एक द्रामु, ५ रूआ ।

The Timana Chalukya Grant of V.S. 1207 (=1150 A.D.) refers to religious awards in shapes of *rūpakas* (*rūpaka, rū*) and *drammas* (*dramma, dra*) :—दत्त रू १ रूपकैकः ; दत्त द्र १ द्रम्मैकः—[9] The suggestion of A. K. Majumdar[10], who likes to interpret 'a daily grant of one *rūpaka*' as identical with the 'annual

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1. Perhaps denoting a twentieth part of a *dramma.* Cf. R. C. Agrawala, *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 80-1; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
2. ie. 1/40th part of a *dramma* ; cf. R.C. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, pp. 186 ff.
4. Perhaps the same as the *Vrishabha* coins of Shergarh (Kotah) Inscription of V. S. 1075 (=1018 A. D.) as edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 139 ff.
5. Interpreted as a 'rupee' by the editor of the inscription under reference.
6. G. V. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat,* II, p. 145 ; *JNSI.*, VIII (2), p. 144.
7. *JKSI.*, VIII (2) pp. 140-4.
8. ie. *drāmmu* and *drāmi* here. The commentary of Śrīdhara appears to be of the 14th century ; *JNSI*, VIII (2), p. 143.
9. *Ind. Antiquary*, XI, p. 338.
10. *Chalukyas of Gujrat,* 1956, Bombay, p. 273.

award of a *dramma*' in that particular epigraph does not seem plausible. The grants in shapes of *rūpakas* here are quite different from those in *drammas* and therefore *rūpaka,* in this particular case, should not be regarded as a coin of a negligible value in relation to that of a *dramma.* The *rūpaka* was at one time one-sixteenth part of a Gupta gold coin (*dīnāra*) during the 5th century A.D., as already noted above.

Hemachandra's *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*[1] furnishes valuable information with regard to the *rūpaka* coins in those days and its commentary by Abhayatilakagaṇi is all the more interesting :—
(a) *Vaiṃśatika* (*ibid*, XVII, 81, p. 382) has been commented as विंशती रूपकादीनि मानमस्य विंशतिकं, तेन क्रीतं i.e. विंशतिक *denoted a coin weighing 20 rūpakas.* The former reminds us of विंशतिक, a silver punch-marked coin of 20 *māshās* as referred to by Pāṇini in his *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 1. 27 and V. 1. 32.[2]

Since 5 *rūpakas* were worth one *dramma,* 1 विंशतिक would fetch 4 *drammas* ; and 1/40th part of a *dramma* (as cited in the Udaipur Inscription of V.S. 1010) would be equal to 1/8th of a *rūpaka*.. B. J. Sandesara (*JNSI.*, VIII, p. 145) of course suggests that विंशतिक of the *DVMK* must be a 'gold coin'. The utter paucity of any reference to such coins in the contemporary epigraphs is to be noted at the present moment,
(b) भागक (*DVMK, op.ait.*, XVII. 94, p. 389) has been interpreted by the commentator as identical with a half-*rūpaka* coin i.e. भागशब्दो रूपकार्धे. Thus 2 भागक[s] = 1 रूपक.

(c) Half *rūpaka* as cited above. Still more, phrase रूपकार्धद्रम्म-पञ्चकादि in the commentary on *DVMK*, XVII. 93 seems to refer *Ardha Rūpakas*, (i.e. 1/10th of a *dramma*) and *Pañchaka drammas* together, The latter appear to have been identical with the *Pañcīyaka drammas*[3] as recorded in the Siyoḍoni Inscription (*Ep.Ind.*, I, p. 169, lines 6 and 37). V. V. Mirashi (*JNSI*, III, p. 37) has suggested, with sufficient justification, that such a *dramma* was worth 5 *viṃśopakas* and denoted a quarter-*dramma.* The existing interpretation of the phrase पञ्चद्रम्मक of course remains quite tentative at the present moment and it is hoped that more light will be thrown on this problem.

III. SUVARṆA RŪPAKAS

In Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[4] there is a specific reference to

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1. Vol. II. 1915, Bombay, edited by A. V. Kathavate Henceforth abbreviated as *DVMK.*
2. Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XV(i), pp. 35-6.
3. Cf. R. C. Agrawala's paper in *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 70-1 re : *Pañchīyaka drammas.*
4. VI.45. 52, 60, 66 ; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

100 *Suvarṇa-Rūpakas*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva[1] also throws some light in this direction when it states :

तावद् मात्रं परिवारो दीनारशतपञ्चकम् । प्रत्यहं परार्थयामास राज्ञस्तस्मात् स वृत्तये ॥ ११ ॥ .... अल्पे परिकरेऽप्येभिरियद्भिर्सुवर्णरूपकैः ।

किं एष व्यसनम् पुष्णात्यथ न किंचन सद्व्ययम् ॥ १३ ॥

In the above works *Dīnāras* and *Suvarṇa-Rūpakas* should be regarded as identical, i.e. gold coins[2].

IV. RŪPAKA IN JAINA LITERATURE

The *Avaśyakachūrṇi* of Jinadatta, composed in the seventh century, refers to false'–*rūvagas*[3]. According to the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (VIII. 11. p. 118[4] one *rūvaga* was worth 8 copper coins known as the *kākiṇīs* therein. It is equally interesting to learn from the *Brihatkalpa-bhāshya* (III. 3890)[5] that the price of a blanket ranged from 18 to a hundred-thousand *rūpakas*.

V. KṚISHṆARĀJA RŪPAKAS

Reference to the *drammas* or *rūpakas* (silver coins) of Chauhan Ajayadeva has already been made above. An inscription of the Kalchuri Era 461 (=710–11 A.D.), recently discovered at Anjaneri in the Nasik district, refers to the circulation of *Krishṇarāja Rūpakas* in the contemporary markets. It is thus evident that the silver coins of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja remained in circulation for 150 years after his demise.[6] It may be added in this connection that these silver coins of the sixth century A. D. were apparently issued according to the 20 *ratti* (36. 6 grains) standard and their recorded weight is about 33 grains.[7] The reverse of these pieces depicts the figure of a couchant humped bull and the variety was popular even in distant parts as Rajputana and Malwa. V. V. Mirashi[8] is of the opinion that they "were called *Krishṇarāja Rupakas* evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, Āndhras and Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric".

I. Leipzig edition, 1866, *taraṅga* 78. *betāla* 4, verses 11 and 13.
2. Cf. Bhandarkar, *op.* cit., b. 131.
3. U. P. Shah, *Journal of M. S. University of Baroda,* III (i), p. 57, f. n. 27.
4. L. C. Jain in the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society,* Old series XVIII, p. 67, f. n. 104.
5. L. C. Jain, *op. cit.,* f. n. 110.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* XXV, p. 232 ; *JNSI,* III (i), pp. 23-24.
7. Elliot, *Coins of South India,* p. 149 as cited by D. C. Sircar in *JNSI*, XVI (i), p. 46.
8. *JNSI*, III, p. 24.

APOLLODOTUS AND HIS COINS

By

A. K. Narain

A large number of Indo-Greek coins bear the name of Apollodotus. Cnnningham considered them as issues of one King[1]. They were classified under two groups by Gardner and he distinguished in them two kings bearing the same name.[2] Whitehead listed all of them under one king and one alone.[3] Smith also did not distinguish in them more than one king.[4] Thus Gardner's classification did not find general acceptance. But Rapson[5] and Tarn accepted Gardner's theory of two kings of the name of Apollodotus and the latter proceeded to make Apollodotus I, as one of his three great heroes—the other two being Demetrius I and Menander.[6] I have recently examined all the evidence in this connection and concluded that in my opinion there is no ground for the existence of two Apollodoti and that we have no justification in accepting an Apollodotus I before Eucratides I as one of the prominent Indo-Greek kings.[7] I have received some kind reviews of my work but naturally there are points where students of this subject may agree to differ. One such controversial problem concerns Apollodotus and I find that some of my friends are not inclined to endorse my theory in regard to him. Although certain new points have been raised at least by one,[8] I have yet to find reasons which make it difficult to accept my theory; what is more, none of my major arguments have been tackled. My intention therefore is to restate some of them and reinforce others while discussing some of the new points which have been raised.

Let us take the literary evidence first. We have nothing there to favour the existence of two kings of the name of Apollodotus; but this is of no significance since most of the Indo-Greek kings are not mentioned in them. But it would certainly be of great significance if it could be shown that there is no justification for an Apollodotus of fame and one who was either a predecessor or a contemporary of Eucratides I and as one who achieved far-reaching conquests. I have discussed the matter

1. *Coins of Alexander and his Successors in the East*, pp. 229-30.
2. *BMC.*, pp. 34-37.
3. *PMC.*, pp. 7, 40 ff.
4. *IMC.*, pp. 18 ff.
5. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 547 ff.
6. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 76, 141 ff.
7. *The Indo-Greeks.*, pp. 64 ff. and 122 ff.
8. J. P. Guêpin : *'Apollodotus I et Eukratides'* (*Overgedrukt uit het Jaar book Voor Munten Penning Kunde* 43 (1956).

in my book but I may be permitted to quote at length. Justin in his Trogus' Prologue's was found to write,[1] *'Indicae quoque res additae, gestae per Apollodorum et Menandrum, reges eorum'*. But 'the learned and judicious' Bayer emended *Apollodotum* in place of *Apollodorum*,[2] following Johannes Valens, who thought 'that it is a most erroneous passage, for Apollodorus was not a king of the Bactrians, but an historian'.[3] The main reason to justify this emendation was the mention of Apollodotus with Menander in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.[4] Looking into many of the old editions of Justin we find that various readings were known. One text reads *Apostolodorum*, whereas some editions have either *'...ex Apollodoro gestae per Menandrum & Demetrium reges eorum'*, or *'...ex Appollodoro gestae per Menandrum & Eucratidem reges eorum'*.[5] The passage in Strabo which mentions the exploits of Menander and Demetrius in India also says, ὥς φησιν' Απολλόδωρος ὁ' Αρτεμιτηνός[6]. We do not know for certain what was the source of Trogus' information,[7] but undoubtedly Apollodorus, the author of *Parthica*, was earlier than both Strabo and Trogus,[8] and even if he was not the main source he may well have been one of the primary sources utilized by Trogus; and this particular information about the exploits of Greek kings in India may well have been due to him, for there is no other earlier source which is definitely known.[9] It is likely that both Strabo and Trogus used Apollodorus also, and referred to Apollodorus just as Strabo did. It is reasonable, therefore, to take the passage concerned as referring to the historian rather than to a king to whom, no title to greatness can be given. There can be no controversy about the passage in Strabo and that is all the more reason why we should prefer the reading *Apollodorum*; it is interesting to note that Apollodotus is not mentioned in Strabo. Justin does not mention Apollodotus, whereas he does mention Demetrius, Menander, and Eucratides; if the name of Apollodotus had actually existed in Trogus it is unlikely that Justin would have missed it.[10] Obviously there is something wrong in the sentence as handed down to us. Those early

1. Xli.
2. *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, pp. 77-80.
3. Ibid, p. 78; cf. also Tod, *Transactions of RAS*, i. 223 ff.
4. § 47.
5. Abraham Gronovius' edition, p 1013. which collects some of these readings.
6. Strabo, xi. 11. 1.
7. Cf. Tarn's discussion. pp. 45 f.; Altheim, *Welt geschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, i, Pt. I, ch. i; Tarn's note in Addenda, p. 522; also *Journal of Hellenic Society*, 1953, p. 170.
8. Trogus died A.D. 14 (?), Strabo died A D. 24 (?); and the date of Apollodorus, according to Tarn, must fall between c. 130 and 87 B.C.
9. Tarn (pp. 45–53) tells us about the unknown sources of Trogus and Plutarch.
10. Justin, *Prol. Pomp. Trog.* xli.

editors who recognized that the reference is to the historian Apollodorus were puzzled by *et* and, therefore, inserted either the name of Demetrius or that of Eucratides, who were the two other Indo-Greek kings besides Menander known to the classical authors. But Schlegel considered this as disfiguring an ancient text.[1] We therefore suggest the following reading: '*Indicae quoque res gestae additae ex Apollodoro per Menandrum, regem eorum.*' This emendation only requires *et* and *per* to change their places, in which case *et* is clearly a mistake for *ex*. And then *reges* will naturally become *regem.*

Moreover, as we shall see below, the mention of the name of Apollodotus in the *Periplus*, upon which Bayer based his emendation, is not sufficient evidence to postulate an early king, Apollodotus I, ruling far and wide in India; probably it refers to the later Apollodotus who is generally known as Apollodotus II. To quote the passage :

"The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Aratti, the Arachosii, the Gandaraii and the people of Poclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. *Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king.* And Alexander setting out from these parts, penetrated *to the Ganges*, leaving aside Damirica and the Southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza, *coming from this country*; *bearing inscriptions in Greek letters,* and the *devices of those who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander.*"

Much has been made of this passage without justification. It merely states that some coins which bore *Greek inscriptions and the devices of* Apollodotus and Menander circulated in Barygaza, which was known to be a trading centre. The passage clearly implies that these coins came from some outside area, probably from where the 'warlike nation of the Bactrians' ruled. Or it may be that the author of the *Periplus* had seen the coins of a certain Apollodotus and Menander and noticed similar coins in Barygaza not necessarily of their own minting. The name of Appollodotus mentioned in the *Periplus* evidently refers to the later king of that name whose coins are more numerous and widely spread than those of the hypothetical Apollodotus I, and who, like Menander, was more closely in touch with India proper. Apart from this the silver coins of the later Western Satraps of Mahārāṣṭra and Ujjain are held to be inspired by the drachms of Apollodotus,[2] that is, of

1. *Periplus*, § 47 (Schoff's translation, p. 41).
2. Rapson, *BMC. Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, &c.*, pp. cviii, cxciv ; *Indian Coins*, p. 21.

Apollodotus II,[1] who alone of the two put his portrait on his coins. The coins of these Śaka satraps also bear traces of Greek inscription.[2] The author of the *Periplus*, who was a trader, may have noticed the similarity and mentioned the coins as a curiosity. This explains the mystery of the statement of Whitehead that, 'in fact I have not heard of the discovery of a single Greek coin at Broach';[3] moreover, G. P. Taylor, who collected coins in Ahmedabad for thirty years, never found any money of Apollodotus.[4] Even if some coins of Menander and Apollodotus were actually found there by the author of the *Periplus*, this gives no proof that they ruled there, since the coins are said to have been brought to Barygaza, almost ceratinly by way of trade.

Thus there is hardly any evidence in the literary sources for the existence of an early Apollodotus I. There is, however, a coin of Apollodotus overstruck by a certain Eucratides and which has been taken almost as a definite proof that there was an Apollodotus who preceded Eucratides (I). But Cunningham, who first illustrated and discussed this overstrike, called it 'a late coin of Eucratides struck upon Apollodotus, and thought the latter to be a son of Eucratides I.[5] Thus he considered it likely that Apollodotus did not precede him, in spite of the overstruck piece. Von Sallet referred to a piece of Antialcidas overstruck by Eucratides[6] but unfortunately it is not illustrated, and Whitehead informs us that he *omitted* to verify it when he visited the Berlin Museum. On the other hand, Gardner mentioned this coin without any question,[7] and, while considering the two overstrikes, i.e. one on Apollodotus and the other on Antialcidas, remarked also that 'it has been doubted whether these coins of Eucratides were really issued during his life-time'.[8] If there is any truth in what we have noted above we might well be led to accept the existence of an Eucratides III, which is, indeed, not a very welcome proposition, but, nevertheless, worth considering. The 'Kaviṣiye-nagara' coins are very rare; only five specimens are in the British Museum, and a few elsewhere. The monogram, which was not very clear in the British Museum and Punjab Museum

1. Ibid. 'more particularly, perhaps from those of Apollodotus Philopator'. Cf. also Tarn, p. 318.

2. Cf. *BMC. W. Kṣatrapas, &c.*, pp. cxci–cxcii.

3. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1940, p. 101.

4. Ibid. 1950, p. 207.

5. *Op. cit.* p. 230.

6. Von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexander des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*, p. 100.

7. *BMC*, p. xxxv.

8. Ibid.

catalogues, is now known from a better-preserved specimen and is illustrated by us.[1] This monogram is, as far as we know, found elsewhere on the coins of Hermæus,[2] and is certainly out of place in the period of Eucratides I; in fact the occurrence of this monogram is a certain indication of a date long after Eucratides I. The type of this coin, which has been shown by Whitehead to be not *Zeus* but a city-goddess,[3] seems to be closer in time to later Indo-Greek kings such as Hippostratus and to the Saka king Maues, and it is rash to rely on the obverse portrait of a few copper coins for the identification of the overstriker of Apollodotus' coin with Eucratides I. Portraits on the copper coins are not generally considered as evidence, owing to their crudity. Even if the portrait does resemble Eucratides I, it may be accounted for on the assumption that a late Indo-Greek king Eucratides temporarily occupied Kāpiśī when Antialcidas' power was declining or when, towards the end of Apollodotus' reign, parts of the kingdom may have been ruled by ephemeral petty kings; this Eucratides, who could not establish himself for any length of time, may have issued coins on the pattern of his illustrious namesake and have overstruck the coins of both Apollodotus and Antialcidas. If we accept the existence of an Eucratides III, who may have been in some way related to Antialcidas, and thus have belonged to the family of Eucratides I, we would be inclined to assign to him the bilingual copper pieces which are numbered 87–129 in the Punjab Museum Catalogue's list of Eucratides' coins.[4] These coins generally bear the monograms, which are unusual in the period of Eucratides I and are not found on the money of any Indo-Greek king either contemporary to or immediately linked with him in time and place. But, on the other hand, these monograms are very common in the period we are now discussing. The monogram is especially common on the money of Apollodotus, Hippostratus and Hermæus. These coins also bear isolated Kharoṣṭhī letters,[5]

1. We illustrate an enlarged print of the BM coin which was published by Whitehead in *NC*, 1947, p. 30. See Plate II. 7.

2. *BMC*, p. 62, No. 3; *PMC*, Pl. IX· 649. We must note that there are several other *similar* monograms, which occur commonly on the coins of Apollodotus and Hermæus, but are generally not found on the money of earlier kings.

3. *NC*. 1947, pp. 28-32 ; 1950, pp. 205-6.

4. *PMC*, pp. 22-23 (cf. also *BMC*, pp. 16-17).

5. *PMC*, e.g. Nos. 102, 120, 128.

a feature characteristic of later Indo-Greek coins. On some coins of this type, where usually the epithet *Μεγάλου* of Eucratides I is repeated, there is also the epithet *Σωτῆρος*, written as CωTHP...,[1] and this again connects him with the period of the late Greek lettering found on the coins of Antialcidas, Apollodotus, and Nicias.[2] This hypothesis simplifies our problems, and there is no need to postulate an Apollodotus I.

Thus the testimony of the overstruck piece does not indicate that there was an Apollodotus I earlier than Eucratides I; it is also not certain that the overstriker was the famous Eucratites I.

Coming to the coins bearing the name of Apollodotus, if there was an early and important king Apollodotus I, not only would he have placed his portrait on his coins but also he would have struck tetradrachms: their absence has not been duly noted, which considering the period to which he is generally thought to belong, is rather surprising[3]. Even the silver drachms,[4] of which more square than round specimens have been found and which conform to a reduced standard of weight,[5] do not in our opinion belong to the hypothetical Apollodotus I. The type of these coins, elephant and bull together, occurs elsewhere only on a square copper of Heliocles II,[6] to reappear later on the money of Maues, Azes, and Azilises;[7] taken separately the elephant appears to be more common on the Indo-Greek coins and the bull on the Śaka-Pahlava. The square copper of Heliocles II and the square silver of Apollodotus may have provided a coin-type which was adopted by the succeeding Śaka and Pahlava kings. They bear monograms on both obverse and reverse, sometimes two

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1. *PMC*, p. 27, unrepresented types, x.

2. Antialcidas, *PMC*, p. 33, No. 172, which has BACIΛEωC; p. 36, No. 212 has ⊏ instead of Σ. Apollodotus, *PMC*, p. 41, Nos. 246-8, which bears C and ω as monograms, and *NC*, 1923, p. 313 fn. 23, mentions a coin of Apollodotus (II) in BM where ϒ replaces T. Nicias' coins *PMC*, 72-74, bear beside the normal letters, both the round and square forms, e.g. CωTHPOC, ⊏ШTHPO⊏.

3. Especially now, in view of the fact that teradrachms of nearly all the kings are known, and the more so when we learn that even Attic tetradrachms of Menander and several rulers after Heliocles I are also known.

4. *PMC*. Pl. IV. 231, 2:6.

5. Cf. also Whitehead, *NC.*, 1923. p. 302. Apollodotus struck a few round pieces in silver weighing about 31 grains which are in a class by themselves. The square bull and elephant coins are referred to as of hybrid drachm weight; cf. also, Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*, II. p. 861.

6. Cf. also Whitehead, *PMC.*, p. 6 where he noted this fact. For the coins of Heliocles cf. *PMC* Pl. III. 149.

7. *PMC.*, Pl. X. 32 (Maues); Pl. XII. 288 (Azes); Pl. XIV. 363 (Azilises).

on each side.[1] Double monograms become comparatively common only with later Indo Greek kings[2]. The monograms are mostly unfamiliar to the period to which the hypothetical Apollodotus I is thought to belong : one of them, C, is a round sigma, which, associated with ω, a round omega, may indicate a late date. Some of the common monograms of the so-called Apollodotus I appear quite frequently on the money of Hermaeus[3] and even of Azes.[4] Some have no monograms at all.[5] The only other Indo-Greek king who struck square silver drachms was Philoxenus ;[6] the style and fabric of these silver drachms of Apollodotus are similar to those of the silver drachms of Philoxenus, on the one hand, and of Antialcidas and Antimachus II, on the other.[7] There is therefore, reason to believe that Apollodotus may not have been far removed in time from Philoxenus, Antialcidas and Hippostratus.

There is nothing in the copper coins of Apollodotus to distinguish two kings of the same name. Those round and square pieces which have Kharoṣṭhī monograms are definitely of the later Apollodotus. The small uninscribed copper coins doubtfully ascribed to the so-called Apollodotus I by Gardner, are now rightly arranged under Apollodotus II in the British Museum. The unique round copper piece showiug Apollo surrounded by a wreath, bearing the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ, which was found with the coins of Hippostratus,[8] bears the monogram, which is commonly used by Apollodotus Philopator and Hippostratus. Of the square copper money attributed to Apollodotus I by Gardner in the *British Museum Catalogue*, eight specimens (Nos. 31–38) are allied

1. Cf. *BMC.*, s. v. Apollodotus I and II.
2. Philoxenus, Hermaeus, & c.
3. e. g. (cf. *BMC*, p. 36, Nos. 32-37 and p. 63, Nos. 13-14) ; (cf. *BMC.*, p. 36, No. 38 and p 62 Nos. 5-6).
4. e. g. (cf. *BMC.* p. 34, No. 9; p. 35, No. 16; p. 86 Nos. 145, 153; and p. 87, No. 164 ; (cf. *BMC.* p. 35, Nos. 17-19 ; p. 86, No. 154 ; an p. 87, Nos. 166, 168, & c.).
5. *BMC.* Pl. IX. 6.
6. Cf. *BMC.* and *PMC*, s. v. Philoxenus.
7. Cf. also Allan in Marshall's *Taxila*. II., p. 861. Allan considers the drachms of Apollodotus to be of the same quality and weight as those struck by Menander, Antialcidas, and Antimachus II.
8. Haughton, *N.C*, 1947, p. 144. See also Plate II. 6.

rather to the definite copper issues of his Apollodotus II than to those of his Apollodotus I because of their typical tripod and bow and their cruder workmanship. Of the remaining coins some have monograms only on one side and others on both; sometimes more than one monogram occurs on each side. And we have shown above that the monogram on the coins of the so-called Apallodotus I generally belong to the later period of Indo-Greek history rather than to the time of Eucratides I. There is hardly any other means of distinguishing the copper money of the hypothetical Apollodotus I from that of the later king of the same name. There is one title—'Soter', and one type, Apollo; the difference in the arrangement of the inscription alone is an unsafe criterion for such purposes. Gardner realized the difficulty of separating the two issues on a regional basis, but quoted Cunningham to the effect that Philopator coins are found only in the Punjab and north-west India, while the others are found over a much wider area, including the upper Kabul valley, Kandahar, and Sind.[1] But this division overlaps, and later discoveries have proved it to be wrong. We do not know of any Indo-Greek coin-find in Sind, but the southernmost find in the Punjab was near Amarkot, in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan,[2] and it contained, among other issues of Apollodotus, the Philopator coins.[3] The Amarkot hoard consisted of coins of Apollodotus only, and this fact much strengthens the probability that there was only one Apollodotus, for had there been two kings of the same name separated by a long gap of time we should expect some coins of the intervening king or kings in the hoard. The recent discovery of the Mir Zakah treasure near Ghazni also contains Philopator coins. It seems, therefore, from the numismatic evidence alone, that we need not assume two Apoloditi

In an interesting paper entitled "Apollodotus I et Eukratides",[4] J. P. Guépin has discussed the coinage bearing the names of Apollodotus and Eucratides. But whereas he does not believe in the existence of two Eucratides' he does believe in the existence of two Apollodoti. I am concerned with Apollodotus only in the present paper.

Guépin has quoted Jenkins and thinks that the existence of two Apollodotus is well nigh certain since the latter has

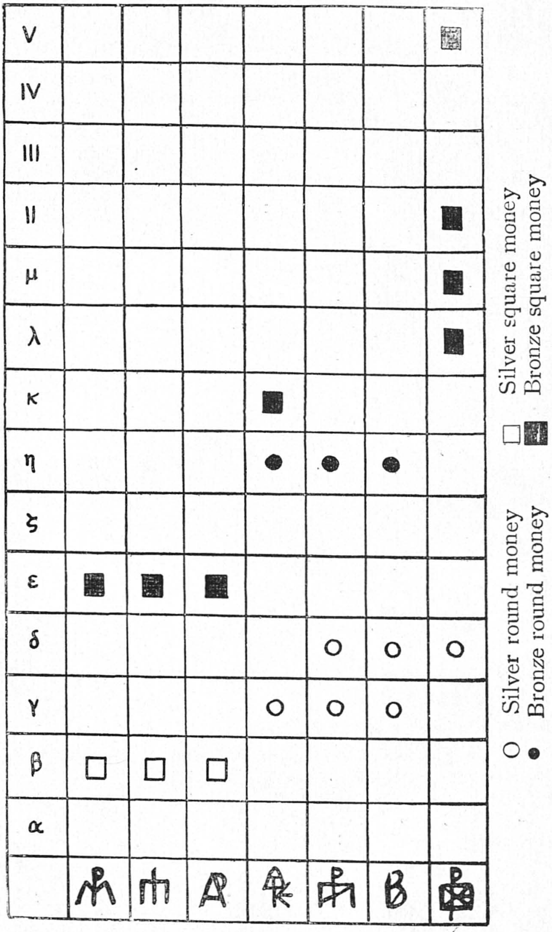
1. *BMC*, p. xxxvii; *CASE*, p. 229—30, yet Cunningham did not distinguish two Apollodoti.

2. *NS*, xi (1909), 307–9.

3. We must also note that the titles 'Soter' and Philopator' sometimes occur on the same coin (*PMC*, p. 48) and the additional epithets 'Philopator' and 'Megas' are confined to the Greek legends only, while the Kharoṣṭhī legends invariably have the title *Trātāra* (='Soter').

4. In *Overgedrukt uit het Jaarbook voor Munt—en Penningkunde* 43 *(1956)*

shown that Eucratides overstruck a coin of Apollodotus and Apollodotus overstruck on a coin of Maues who reigned almost a century later.[1] But even then Guépin finds it difficult to fix certain criteria for dividing the issues of the kings of the name Apollodtus.[2] He has however shown in a chart[3] reproduced below how he would divide the coin-types of the two kings :



1. But cf. Jenkins, *JNSI.* XVII, pt. II, p. 14, for whom the overstrike of Eucratides on a coin of Apollodotus I is more important for distinguishing an earlier Apollodotus than the Apollodotus overstrike on Maues.

2. Guépin, *op. cit.* p. 5. Néanmoins il nous manque encore un critèr suffisant pour partager les monnaies entre ces deux rois.

3. *op. cit.* p. 4,

He thinks that types α, β and ε are the issues of Apollodotus I and types γ, δ, η, κ, λ, μ, II, III, IV and V of Apollodotus II whereas type ξ according to him belongs to an Indian king. But I wonder if this is a clear division. I think Guépin himself is aware of it for he admits that although the moneys divide themselves into two groups which are not linked there are types in each group which are linked by monograms.[1] The division made by Guépin corresponds to Gardner's classification in BMC. I have already shown my reasons above for not accepting Gardner's division taking into consideration each type and group of the coinage of Apollodotus and the cointypes attributed to Apollodotus I by Guépin are also included. But Guépin has not taken into account my arguments against Gardner's classification. According to Guépin the following types belong to Apollodotus I :[2]

Type I. (PMC α) Silver, round.

Plate II. 1.

Obv. : Elephant to r. Legend :
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

Rev. : Bull to r. Legend in kharosthi :
Maharajasa Apaladatasa tradarasa

Type II. (BMC. β) Silver, square.

Plate II, 2.

Obv. : Elephant to r. Legend :
1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
above. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ
r. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

Rev. : Bull to r. Legend in kharosthi :
r. *Maharajasa*
top. *Apaladatasa*
l. *Tratarasa*

Type II a. Similar to type II but 'les emblemes sout rendus plus petits pour faire place à des symboles connus des monnaies indiennes.'

Type III (PMC. ξ) Bronze. square.

Plate II, 3.

Obv. : Apollo standing with arrow in r. hand and bow in l.

Legend : L. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
above. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ
r. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

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1. "Il est clair que les monnaies se partagent en deux greupes. qui ne sont pas liês, tandis que dans chaque groupe les types sent liês par des monogrames." Guêpin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
2. Guêpin, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Rev. : Tripod.
Legend in kharosthi :
r. *Maharajasa*
above. *Apaladatasa*
l. *tratarasa*

Type III a. Similar to type III but the style is very crude **Plate II, 4.**

There are certain observations, however, in regard to the metrology, finds and monograms made by Guépin, which according to him support the existence of two Apollodoti, which may be discussed here.

In the opinion of Guépin the weight of type I corresponds with the Attic standard prevalent in Bactria and in effect are hemidrachms of Attic weight. Type II has been minted in what is known as the 'Indian' standard which is without example in the indigenous monetary system. Further, type II, which is found in Mir Zakah represents a transition since one of the two pieces there weighs 2.1 grammes i. e. about 32.5 grains. Guépin says that it appears that people first of all tried to preserve the Attic standard but later on they simply preserved the grandeur of the 14 mm. form of the round pieces with the result that it has made the coins more weighty.[1] I am unable to follow this argument of Guépin. If we analyse the weights of these coins I find that the weight of coins of type I range from 28 to 31 grains and the coins of type II range in weight from 33 to 37 ; the Mir Zakah IIa coin weighs about 32.5 grains. I wonder if we can really derive such conclusion as Guèpin has done on the basis of a difference of merely two or three grains which can always be due to wear and use. Moreover, on the one hand the 'Indian' standard is still undefined in the case of the Indo-Greek coinage and on the other, coins of both the types, square and round, may equally claim to be as conforming to the weight of a hemidrachm of the Attic standard except that some odd pieces of the square type seem to be overweight. But the overweight pieces of the square type will remain so even if they are considered to be a drachm of the 'Indian' standard. In fact both the round and square coins of Apollodotus may safely be taken as belonging to one and the same standard.[2]

On the premise that monograms help to establish a link between kings in time or in place, Guépin comes to conclusion that on the one hand Apollodotus I is linked with Euthydemus, Demetrius and Eucratides, and on the other, linked with the

1. Guêpin, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
2. *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 65.

successors more or less immediate of Eucratides: Heliocles, Strato I, Antialcidas and Hermaeus.[1] But he himself remarks that this conclusion is vague and perhaps the examination of the finds may give us other indications.[2] Before we come to examine the analysis of finds made by Guèpin I must note, while agreeing with him that the conclusion derived from the monograms are vague, that most of the monograms are associated with later Indo-Greek kings rather than with earlier. Especially noteworthy are monograms which are never found on the money of earlier kings; and is it not very significant when we find monogram which appears on the overstruck piece of Apollodotus appearing elsewhere only on a coin of Hermaeus ?[3]

The analysis of the finds also do not help us conclusively. The Mir *Zakah* find is not a hoard but a treasure[4] and hence its evidence need not be taken seriously. The 1840 find from Charikar published by Haughton[5] is of no use since we are not sure whether the find was a hoard and if it was whether the complete hoard was acquired ; the composition of the hoard (?) will be useful only when the hoard is studied intact. Moreover, as Guépin himself has noted the find is rather a small one to derive conclusions. The two Bajaur hoards[6] also do not help to establish the priority of Apollodotus over Menander. The composition of these two hoards are as follows :

First Bajaur hoard :

Menander,	721	drachms + 1 tetradrachm
Antimachus II	152	,,
Apollodotus,	95	,,
Zoilus,	3	,,

Second Bajaur hoard :

Menander,	87	drachms
Antimachus, II	17	,,
Apollodotus,	7	,,
Zoilus,	3	,,

It is significant that in both these hoards (although the second one was not recovered intact) the proportionate representation of

1. Guèpin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
2. *Ibid*, loc. cit.
3. Compare Plate II, Nos. 5 & 7 and 8.
4. Guèpin has noted that I have confused between a 'hoard' and a 'treasure but see "*The Indo-Greeks*", p. 101, fn. 3 where I have clearly distinguished between a hoard and a treasure while referring to the Mir Zakah treasure.
5. *NC.* 1948. p. 103.
6. *JASB., Num. Sepplement.* XL (1926-27) p. 274 and *JNSI.* II (1942) p. 61.

the coinages of the kings is the same. Either the kings ruled in the order mentioned above or exactly in the reverse order. Since it is difficult to put Zoilus, Apollodotus and Antimachus Nicephorus in order before Menander on the basis of reasons discussed by me in my work and as is the general consensus of opinion, we are obliged to accept the order of kings as Menander, Antimachus Nicephorus, Apollodotus and Zoilus. There is no doubt therefore that the Apollodotus represented in Bajaur hoards is a later king and he could not be a king preceding Eucratides I as Apollodotus I has to be. It is true that generally the king whose coinage is less in number in a given hoard is supposed to precede the king whose coinage is more than his. But it is conceded on all hands that the coinage of Menander is most abundantly found and undoubtedly his coinage was in circulation longest in time and widest in geographical area; this explains the overwhelming number of his coins in the hoards found at Bajaur, which was perhaps the centre of political life and administration during the days of Menander. Hackin's report[1], also confirms the conclusion we derive from the analysis of Bajaur hoards.[2] But the most important hoard, a reference to which is strikingly omitted by Guépin, to help us in our discussion is the hoard found in Amarkot in the Dera Gazi khan[3], which consisted of coins of both the so-called Apollodotus I and II but of no other king. This is significant. As I have remarked elsewhere[4] this fact strengthens our position to a great extent that there was only one Apollodotus, for had there been two kings of the same name separated by a long gap of time we should expect some coins of the intervening king or kings in the hoard. The hoard as published is complete. The evidence of Taxila excavations[5] also does not favour an Apollodotus I because we do not find his coins there whereas we do have coins of the so-called Apollodotus II. And certainly by accepting only one Apollodotus we are saved from the anomalous situation in which Tarn[6] and Guépin[7] and others who follow the argument are placed by having at pains to explain the absence of Apollodotus I in Taxila and then getting confronted with the presence of the so-called Apollodtus I's money in the Bundelkhand hoard.[8]

1. *JA*. 1935 p. 290.
2. As Guépin himself has noted: "Hackin sournit la mêmereparti-pour la region de kapiśi: 5% d' Apollodotus, 60 a 70% de Menande, 10% d' Antimaches Nikephoros," (*op. cit.* p. 10)
3. *JASB, Numismatic Supplement*, XI. (1909) pp. 307 ff.
4. *The Indo Greeks*, p. 125.
5. Marshall, *Taxila*, II. pp. 835.
6. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 165.
7. *op. cit.*, p. 10.
8. *IA*, 1904, pp 217 ff.

In the end Guépin has raised two interesting points which need examination. He thinks that the absence of tetradrachm shows that Apollodotus I was a king who had no great military ambition and whose coin had a commercial value on the trade route from Bactria to Taxila.[1] Secondly, the absence of the portrait on the money of the so-called Apollodotus I substantiates the thesis of the priority of Apollodotus for then it could be said that he came in a country where people did not know a royal portrait.[2] The first statement seems to me strange because those who believe in the existence of two Apollodotus also regard Apollodotus I as one of the famous Indo-Greek kings and a military leader of repute, although, as I have shown above, there seems to me no ground for that assumption. To say that the money of Apollodotus I had a commercial value on the Bactria-Taxila trade route loses its value when we know that the coins of the so-called Apollodotus I are found neither in Bactria nor in Taxila; Mir Zakah, Amarkot, Bajaur and Bundelkhand are certainly not in the route from Bactria to Taxila. Lastly, if the absence of the portrait signified that the so-called Apollodotus I came in a country where royal portrait was unknown on the coins the presumption is that he was the first to rule over parts of India where the custom of having the royal portraits on the money was not known. But no body would regard the so-called Apollodotus I as the first Indo-Greek king in India. Even if we concede this, are we not forced to have another equally unteneble presumption that Apollodotus I did not rule over those parts where the custom of having the royal portrait on the coinage was known ?

To sum up, I still strongly believe in one and only one king of the name of Apollodotus and that he was one of the later king of the Indo-Greek family. I cannot get away from the idea that the monogram on the overstruck piece of Apollodotus is found elsewhere only on the coins of Hermaeus and there is no doubt that the coin is much later than Eucratides. I am not worried about the piece of Maues overstruck by Apollodotus because that only confirms my point that the only one Apollodotus who existed was one of the later kings of the Indo-Greeks. I feel no justification to disagree with the views of Cunningham, Smith and Whitehead who did not favour the idea of two Apollodoti.

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1. "Le manque de ttradrachmes montre qu' Apollodotos etait un roi sams, grandes ambitions Rilitaires, dont la monnaie avait surtout une valeur, commercial sur la grande route de Bactres a Taxila."

2. "Le manque de portrait renforce la thes de la priorite d' Apollodotos ; il vint dans un pays ou l' on ne connaissait pas encore le portrait royal." Guepin, *op. cit.* p. 11.

NOTES ON THE GUPTA COINAGE—I.

By

V. S. Pathak

I. CHANDRAGUPTA I–KUMĀRADEVĪ COIN-TYPE

The Chandragupta I – Kumāradevī is one of the most interesting types of the Gupta coins. It has been variously interpreted by scholars as a normal issue of Chandragupta I[1] or a commemorative medal either of Samudragupta[2] or of the Lichchhavis.[3]

The obverse of this type bears striking resemblance with that of the King-and-the-Queen type of Kumāragupta I. It may also be compared with the reverse of the King-and-Queen on the couch type of Chandragutpa II.

It shows king standing in *samapādasthānaka* pose to r. dressed and ornamented, holding an indistinct object in r. hand and standard in l. The queen is standing in the same posture to the right of the king but her head is turned towards right.

The obverse of the King-and-Queen type of Kumāragupta I is an exact copy with a minor difference that the king does not hold standard there. On reverse of the king-and-Queen-on-Couch type of Chandragupta II, the same motif is in the *āsana* (sitting) form instead of standing (*sthānaka*). King is shown there as sitting on the couch in *ardha-paryaṅka*-

1. *JASB. NS.* XLVIII, 105 ff; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 28 *JIH*, VI, Supple. 10 ff.
2. *BMC. GD, Intr, LXIV*-LXVIII.
3. *JNSI*, XVII, pt. I, pp. 117-119.

mudrā holding an object before the queen seated on the couch in the same *mudrā* to the right of the king.

In all these types, queen is represented to the right of the king and this is a noteworthy peculiarity. In art and literature, wife is normally placed to the left of the husband. Excepting the *kalyāṇasundara* form about which we shall discuss later, in all the *bhogamūrti* images goddesses are invariably shown to the left of their consorts. In art this practice may be traced back to the Kushāṇa period. In several images of this period preserved in the Mathurā Museum, Lakshmī and Ambikā stand to the left of their consorts.[1] The Hara-Gaurī image bearing an inscription of the time of Skandagupta also depicts Pārvatī to the left of Siva.[2]

Not only divine couples but royal pairs are likewise represented. At Ajantā, in (Cave XVII) Palace, and in (Cave I) Bacchanalian scenes showing foreigners coming and submitting their presents to the king queens are seated to left of their husbands (See **Pl. IV, 2** and **3**). Same position is maintained in sculptures of the rich shroff Tejaḥpāla and his two wives.[3]

Literature also supports it. The Mahābhārata[4] narrates an interesting story of Gangā who sat on the right thigh of king Pratīpa and hence the latter refused to accept her as wife because right side is meant only for daughters and daughters-in-

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1. *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum. Brahma, Vishṇu and Siva etc. in Mathura Art.* p. 27.
2. *Classical Age,* Pl. *XXIII*, fig., 53.
3. *Arch. of Guj*, fig 77.
4. तस्य रूपगुणोपेता गङ्गास्त्रीरूपधारिणी ।
उत्तीर्य सलिलात् तस्माल्लोभनीयतमाकृतिः ॥ २ ॥
अधीयानस्य राजर्षेर्दिव्यरूपामनस्विनी ।
दक्षिणं शालसंकाशमूरुं भेजे शुभानना ॥ ३ ॥
× × ×
प्राप्य दक्षिणमूरुं मे त्वमाश्लिष्टा वराङ्गने ।
अपत्यानां स्नुषानां च भीरु विद्धेतदासनम् ॥ ९ ॥
सव्योरु कामिनीभोग्यस्त्वया स च विवर्जितः ।
तस्मादहं नाचरिष्ये त्वयि कामं वरानने ॥१०॥
स्नुषा मे भव सुश्रोणि पुत्रार्थं त्वां वृणोम्यहम् ।
स्नुषापक्षं हि वामोरु त्वमागम्य समाश्रिता ॥११॥

Ādiparva, 97.

law while left is reserved for wives. Sri Harsha mentions the change of bride's position from right to left after *pāṇiagrahaṇa.*[1]

But there is an important exception. *Hiraṇya-Keśī-Gṛihya-sūtra*[2] clearly lays down that bride should take her seat to the right of the bride-groom at the time of the performance of marriage. Later *smṛitis* reiterate it.[3]

The practice is still followed and the *Paddhatīs* mention that this position should be maintained till the giving of *Saubhāgya* to the bride by the bridegroom.[4] Images known as *Kalyāṇa-Suṅdara* or *Vaivāhika* depict the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī or Kumāra and Devasenā.[5] Some of the authorities on this point quoted by Gopinath Rao mention that the goddess Pārvati should necessarily be seated to the right of Śiva. Several such images have been found. Elephanta Cave No. 1., generally assigned to eighth century A.D., contains a beautiful image of this form (See **Pl. I. 1.**). Siva stands in *dvibhanga* holding the left hand of Parvatī with his now mutilated right hand. Pārvatī with a downward look expressive of maidenly bashfulness stands to the right. Such images have been discovered in north[6] also. The Bhārata Kalā Bhavan of Banaras Hindu University also possesses a *Kalyānasundara* image. These marriage scenes had become popular motifs from the Gupta Age. Kālidāsa[7] Bāṇabhatta.[8] Bhavabhūti[9] etc. describe them with interesting details. Thus it may be suggested that these coin-types

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1. करग्रहे वाम्यमधत्त यस्तयोः प्रसाद्यमैभ्या।नु च दक्षिणीकृतः ।
कृतः पुरस्कृत्य ततो नलेन सः प्रदक्षिणस्तत्क्षणमाशुशुक्षणि ॥

Naishadha, XVI.

Fire which was kept to the left side of the couple at the time of *Pāṇia-grahaṇa*, after Damayanti came over to the left side of Nala, automatically occupied the right portion. There is a pun on words—*Vāmya* (left hand side and opposition) and *dakshiṇa* (right hand side and amicable disposition).

2. I. 5.5.

3. कन्यादाने विवाहे च प्रतिष्ठायज्ञकर्मणि ।
सर्वेषु धर्मकार्येषु पत्नी दक्षिणतः स्मृतः ॥ 84.

Vyāghra Smriti,

4. ततो वधूमभिमन्त्रयति वरः ॐ सुमङ्गलीरियं वधूः । ततो वरस्य वाम-भागे कन्या गत्वा ग्रामसुभगस्त्रिया पुनरपि सिन्दूरकरणम् ।

5. Tirupparankuram temple in south contains a Devasena-Kartikeya marriage. *The Age of Imperial Kannauj* P. 348.

6. *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, Dacca University, P. 446. See also Bhattasali ; *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in Dacca Museum*, P. 112-113.

7. *Raghuvaṁśa,* Canto VII, VV. 16-29.

8. *Harshacharita,* IV *Parichehheda.* *Pārvatīpariṇaya* which dwells over the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī is also ascribed to him.

9. *Uttara-Rāma-charit,* I;

where queens are shown to the right of their consorts represent marriage scenes.

Moreover, kings in all these types hold before queens an indistinct object which has been variously described as a *sindūradānī*, a ring or a bud. Dr. Altekar remarks, "We have, therefore, to presume that what looks like a bangle is the circular end of *Sindūradānī*. In some cases, the end of Sindūradānī looks like a bud." *Sindūradānī* or a bangle (*Vivāha-pratisara*) both are required at the time of marriage. Bangle (*pratisara*) is presented by the bridge-groom to the bride[1] and a little later *Saubhāgya* i. e. *Sindūra* is applied in the bride's parting of hair by the bride-groom. *Saubhāgya*-giving ritual completes the *maṇḍapa* ceremony. At this juncture a general request is made to people for seeing and blessing the married couple. This custom is very ancient. A hymn both in *Ṛig* and *Atharva* (with slight variations) mentions it and is cited even now on this occasion.[1] *Sindūrdānī* suggests that the scene meant here is the giving of *Saubhāgya*—a very important ritual in the marriage ceremony. Thus, it seems very probable that these coins depict the marriage-scenes and are, therefore, commemorative medals and not normal issues.

The Chandragupta-Kumardevī type of coins are designed to commemorate the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumaradevī. They can hardly be interpreted as a normal joint-issue of Chandragupta I and Kumaradevī indicative of joint-rule as in that case the queen Kumāradevī would have been represented to the left of Cnandrugupta in accordance with the invariably observed Indian custom.

But the main hurdle in this suggestion is the absence of any clue to the commemorator. Dr. Altekar pertinently remarks, "A commemorator while commemorating his parents or predecessors rarely fails to indicate his own identity by giving his own name on the reverse." But here on the coins we have got

1. *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 553.

(१) सुमङ्गलीरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्यत ।
सौभाग्यमस्मै दत्त्वा याथास्तं वि परतेन् ॥३३॥

Rg, X, 85.

The *Sindūrakaraṇa* is figurativty mentioned by Sri Harsha in *Naishadhīya* Charitaṁ (XV)

नलात्स्ववैश्यस्त्यमनाप्तुमात्मना नृपस्त्रियो भीममहोत्सवागताः ।
तदङ्घ्रिलाक्षामदधन्त मङ्गलं शिरः सु सिन्दुरमिव प्रियायुषे ॥५५॥

See also *Mānasa* by Tulsīdāsa—

राम सीय सिर सेंदुर देहीं । सोभा कहि न जात विधि केहीं ॥
अरुन पराग जलज भरि नीके । ससिहि भूष अहि लोभ अभी के ॥
बहुरि बसिष्ठ दीन्ह अनुशासन । बरु दुलहिन बैठे एक आसन ॥

Bāla Kāṇḍa

on reverse merely the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* of which it is difficult to give any satisfactory explanation. Dr. Agrawala suggests that it may be construed as *Lichchhavayaḥ jayanti* viz. the 'Lichchhavis are victorious and that "*Lichchchavayaḥ* in that position give the name of commemorators. He also states that "the numismatic evidence is predominently in favour of the issue being a commemorative medal struck sometime in the reign of Samudragupta himself."

The suggestion is really interesting. Lichchhavis could have very well struck these medals in the reign of Samudragupta probably to associate themselves with the most powerful monarch. A comparison with the 'King and the Queen' type of coins struck by Kumāragupta I would also support the suggestion because the name of the commemorator-Kumāragupta-is given on the reverse. But findspot, devices, metallurgy, conventions and sequence—in fact all numismatic evidences unequivocally point out that it is a Gupta issue rather than a Lichchhavī Coin.

There is another possibility. As Aśvamedha types of coins depicting scenes of Aśvamedha sacrifice were struck on that occasion, similarly these medallic pieces were issued at the time of the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumaradevī which brought about the amalgamation of Lichchhavī territory in the Gupta Kingdom. The legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* on the reverse means the Lichchhavī kingdom which might have been presented to Chandragupta I on the occasion of marriage depicted on the obverse. The coins, therefore, simultaneously celebrate the performance of marriage and the consequent amalgamation of the two Kingdoms. The Eran Ins. of Samudragupta describes that Chandragupta I excelled the ancient kings Pṛithu and Rāghava in giving *Suvarṇas* i.e. gold coins. This was the most befitting occasion for performance of *Suvarṇa-dāna*[1] ceremony. They may, therefore, be commemorative medals struck by Chandragupta I to commemorate the performance of marriage and the amalgamation of Lichchhavi Kingdom.

It is however, curious that Chandragupta I confined himself only to medallic pieces and did not care to mint normal issues. Dr. Chhabra has, however, attempted to show that the standard type of coins bearing the vertical legend *Chandra* on the observe and *parama-bhāgavata* on the reverse were issued by Chandragupta I. But the lotus-seat design of the goddess on the reverse which starts only from the Battle-axe Type of Samudragupta and the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* which in the present

1. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 261. V. 2

state of our knowledge was first adopted by Chandragupta II make the attribution of these coins to Chandragupta I rather uncertain. Therefore, even this possibility is rather remote.

Allan attributes these coins to Samudragupta on the basis of the development in the devices of Gupta coins. It is a very plausible suggestion and would have been readily accepted but for the absence of the name of Samudragupta as commemorator either on the reverse or on the obverse. It may be however argued in favour of this theory that Samudragupta does not always give his personal name on his coin. For example he merely mentions his *Viruda* on Aśvamedha types of Coins. Similarly, in the Chandragupta I—Kumaradevī type of coins he, although does not give his name, leaves sufficient indications with regard to identity of the issuer.

Samudragupta is described in inscriptions as 'son of the *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Chandragupta and the daughter's son of Lichchhavi(s)—*Lichchhavi-dauhitra* begotten on *mahādevī* Kumāradevī" Reference to this *dauhitra* relationship in inscriptions is rather unusual. Smith suggested that it was due to the considerable political advantages gained by Chandragupta I through matrimonial alliance while according to Allan the Guptas were proud of this association because of the ancient and therefore respectable lineage of the Lichchhavis. These theories are advanced because of a general impression that the *dauhitra*-relationship is generally brought out in genealogies only when the maternal grand-father who happens to be a man of great eminence renders substantial help to his grand-son. This, however, does not seem to be accurate. Pravarasena II was the daughter's son of so eminent a personality as Chandragupta II. But he is not mentioned as *dauhitra* although Chandragupta II and Kuberanāgā were recorded as parents of his mother and the epithet 'Bhavānaga-*dauhitra*' is applied to his great-grand-father Rudrasena I in the same epigraph. *Smṛitis* sometimes use the word *dauhitra* in its techinal meaning of *putrikā-putra*—one of the twelve subsidiary sons[1]. Adopted, purchased and *dauhitra* sons are *dvāmushyāyaṇa*[2] i.e. they belong simultaneously to two families of natural father and the maternal grand-father who is

1. Baudhāyana II. 2. 17. distinguishes between *putrikāputra* and *dauhitra*—दुहितरि जातं पुत्रिकापुत्रमन्यं दौहित्रम् । *Dāyabhagha* XI. 2. 21 also states—स्मृतिषु दौहित्रपदमपुत्रिकाजातपरं नियतम् । But Manu uses the word *dauhitra* in the sense of *putrikā-putra*. Kulluka on IX, 139 interprets *dauhitra* as *putrikā-putra*. See also *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, III, p. 720.

2. चेद्दत्तकक्रीतपुत्रिकापुत्राः परपरिग्रहेणानार्षेयास्ते द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्ति । Kātyāyana as quoted by *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 685.

considered for all religious purposes as father. Manu says that *dauhitra* in the absence of (natural) son inherits the whole property and offers *piṇḍas* both to the natural father and maternal grand-father[1]. Thus he is a *dvāmushyāyaṇa*—a person having dual parentage.

In epigraphs, *dauhitra* seems to have been used in this sense. Samudragupta was a *dvāmushyāyaṇa.* He was a natural son of Chandragupta I and a subsidiary son (of the *dauhitra* category) of maternal grand-father from Kumāradevī, the Lichchhavi princess. He, therefore, introduces himself as *Chandraguptasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahadevyām=kumāradevyām-utpannasya.* The Chandragupta-kumāradevī type of coins is a numismatic version of this line. The obverse legends *Chandraguptaḥ* and *Kumāradevī-Srī* and the device of marriage-scene may together be taken as meaning *Chandraguptasya Kumāradevyāmutpannasya* while the reverse legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* in this association may be construed as *Lichchhavīnāṁ-dauhitrasya.* Even if this construction is not accepted, it shall have to be admitted that the two sides of the coin represent the two kinds of parentage—natural and subsidiary, of Samudragupta as mentioned in the Allahabad Stone Inscription. Thus, legends and devices are subtle pointers to the identity of the commemorator.

Though Ancient Indian numismatics does not furnish even one single instance where a king has disclosed his identity merely by mentioning his parentage, it seems that there was a reason for this peculiarity. There are strong indications that the reign of Samudragupta was disturbed by his cousins or brothers. Samudragupta might have, therefore, issued these medals to show that he being *dvāmushyāyaṇa* had a title to rule over amalgamated kingdom of the Lichchavīs and the Guptas, which other princes not connected with the Lichchhavis did not have. He, therefore, deliberately pointed out this dual parentage on both sides of the coin. According to Allan this is the third coin type of Samudragupta. It is quite in consonance with the fact that the disturbance took place early in his career before he started for *digvijaya* as a preliminary to Aśvamedha sacrifice

To sum up, the Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī type of coins depict the marriage scene of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī and they are therefore, commemorative medals and not normal joint issues. Since it is unlikely for a king to issue only commemorative medals throughout his reign it is preferable

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1. दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिक्थमपुत्रस्य पितुर्हरेत् ।
स एव दद्याद्द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च ॥ IX, 132.

to attribute them to Samudragupta who probably struck them to show his title to kingship when it was challenged by his rivals.

II. AŚVAMEDHA BY SAMUDRAGUPTĀ

The elaborate *praśasti* discovered at Allahabad does not mention the performance of Horse-Sacrifice by Samudragupta but it is proved beyond any doubt by the Aśvamedha coins attributed to him.[1] The legend on coin is—"the performer of Horse-Sacrifice, the Great king of kings, after conquering the whole earth wins heaven". A clay seal bearing *asvamedha* device and his epithet *parākrama* has also been discovered.[2] It was an important event of his life and won for him the constant epithet —*Chirotsannāśvamedhāhartuḥ*. It occurs in the inscription of his successors and is generally translated as "of one who has *revived* horse-sacrifice which *was long in abeyance*."

But some scholars are sceptic and they doubt the veracity of this statement. They assert that it is "not strictly accurate, as Aśvamedha was performed by Indian Kings not long before his time.[3]" The device of *Asvamedha* coins, however, explains the real meaning of the statement and shows that it was not merely a vain boast devised by the successors of Samudragupta but the correct record of an important event.

This is undoubtedly true that there is an almost uninterrupted tradition of Aśvamedha from Senāpati Pushyamitra to the seventh century A.D. After the Śunga emperor, Sātakarnī I performed *Aśvamedha, Gavāmayana, Gargātirātra* and *Āptoryāma* sacrifices. Sarvatāta celebrated Aśvamedha in 1st century B.C.[4] A brick inscription from Jaunpur (at present preserved in the College of Indology, B.H.U.), which may be assigned to the beginning of Christian era, records the performance of *Aśvamedha* by a chief named Devamitra. Sāntivarmman (Dehradun, U. P.) celebrated four *Aśvamedhas* in third century A.D.[5] The Ikshvāku King Sāntimūla (C. 225 A.D.) performed one[6] whereas Pravarasena I (C. 275 A.D.) celebrated as many as four *Asvamedha* sacrifices.[7] Bhavanāga, the Nāga ruler was sanctified "by baths taken at the end of ten *Aśvamedhas*". Thus it is certainly not accurate to say that Samudragupta revived the performance of horse-sacrifice which was long in abeyance,

1. *The coins of the Gupta Empire*, p. 61 ff.
2. Ibid, p. 62 n.
3. *Classical Age*, p. 14; *Indian culture*, I, p. 115 ff.
4. *Select Inscription*, p. 186 ff.
5. *Indo-Asian Culture*, July, 1955, p. 110.
6. *Select Inscription*, p. 227.
7. Ibid, p. 407.

but all the same it is incorrect to state that "Samudragupta does not deserve the epithet "*Chirotsannāśvamedhāhartuḥ*".

The word '*utsanna*' occurs frequently in Vedic literature. It is mentioned as an adjective to *yajyñas* in *Atharvaveda*,[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[2] *Taittirīya Saṁhita* and *Śankhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*. Sāyaṇa in his commentary explains it in the sense of 'interrupted' or 'rare' and this is undoubtedly the derivative sense of the word. But it seems to have been used in a technical sense in the Vedic literature. Thus with reference to Aśvamedha it has been stated in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (5.4.12) :—

भवत्युत्सन्नयज्ञो वा एष यदश्वमेधः
कस्तद्वेदेत्याहुर्यदि सर्वो वा क्रियते न वा

"The horse sacrifice is an *utsanna* sacrifice for 'who knows' they say, 'if *whole* of it is done or not." Here the meaning 'interrupted' or 'rare' does not suit the meaning at all. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara the commentator explains : —

उत्सन्न यज्ञ इत्यादि । उत्सन्न भूयिष्ठा वयवोऽश्वमेधः कात्स्र्येन सम्पादयितुमशक्यत्वात् । तदेवाह-कस्तादिति । यद्ययं सर्वोपविकल एव अनुष्ठीयते यदि वा न तस्मियं विशेष को वेदितुमर्हति पुराविद आहुः ।

"The horse sacrifice is described as *utsanna* as it is difficult to celebrate it completely. Historians (*purāvida*) said, "No body can know whether it was performed entirely". Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara on a similar passage of the same Saṁhitā comments :-

य उत्सन्नयज्ञः । शाकपार्थिवादि । अस्मौ भूयिष्ठं कर्मोत्सन्नं भवति । कात्स्न्र्येन कर्तुमशक्यत्वात् ॥

"Utsanna Yajña is an instance of *Śāka-Pārthiva Samāsa* and means a sacrifice which entails so elaborate a ritual that it is difficult to perform completely." This would tend to show that *utsanna* is not used in the derivative sense of 'interrupted' or even 'rare'. It probably means "eleborate". Keith translates the word as "extensive" which remarkably suits the context.

The meaning of the word has been rendered clear by its usage in *Śankhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* :—

अथ शूद्रार्यौ स्त्रीपुंमासौ बण्डखलती इत्युपकल्पयन्ति । तदेतत्पुराणमुत्सन्नं न कार्यमेतस्मिन्समुप क्लृप्ते । २

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1. राजसूयं वाजपेयमग्निष्टोमस्तदध्वरः ।
अर्काश्वमेधावुच्छिष्टे जीव बर्हिमदन्तिमः ॥ ७ ॥
अग्न्याधेययमथ दीक्षा कामप्रश्छन्दसा सह ।
उत्सन्ना यज्ञाः सत्राण्युच्छिष्टेऽधि समाहिताः ॥ ८ ॥

2. II, 5, 2, 48; XIII, 3, 3, 6.

"Now, *śūdra* and *ārya*, ladies and men, a loafer and a harlot are required. It is *Purāṇa-utsanna* because some acts which are not to be performed have been prescribed." This passage points out that some of the acts previously prescribed in the performance of sacrifices were not followed in practice probably because they were regarded as undesirable in later times and hence 'the complete elaborate sacrifices which included these undesirable practices' were termed as *Utsanna-Yajña.* The *Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* gives instances of these undesirable practises also.

Chirotsanna of inscription seems to be *"Puraṇamutsanna"* of *Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sutra.* There is some evidence to show that "an abbreviated form of *aśvamedha*" was also current. *Smṛitis* equate it with *Gaya-Śrāddha* and *Vrishotsarga.* Thus *Likhita*[1] states :—

एष्टव्याः बहवः पुत्राः यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।
यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥

This abbreviated form of sacrifice is of course different from *chirotsannāśvamedha* which entails elaborate ritual for example the conquest of the whole country and the performance of several rites which were deemed undesirable later on. The legend on the *aśvamedha* coins declares that Samudragupta the King of Kings after conquering the whole earth performs *aśvamedha* and the device on coins—Dattādevī standing with *sūchi* on reverse and horse on the obverse—indicate that Samudragupta celebrated the "elaborate *aśvamedha* and not its abbreviated form also current in those days. He is, therefore, quite correctly described as the performer of *"Chirotsannā-śvamedha"*i.e. an elaborate *aśvamedha* of *utsanna* category.

Taitirīya Saṁhitā states[2] that the performance of the *utsanna* type of *aśvamedha* is fraught with grave risks. If it is not performed completely and in accordance with the prescribed procedure, it brings about death and pestilence. Therefore, its successful performance was regarded more meritorious than the celebration of ordinary *aśvamedhas.*

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1. *Smṛiti-Sandarbha* III, p. 1456, v. 10.
2. उत्सन्नयज्ञो वा एष यदग्निः किं वाऽहैतस्य क्रियते किंवा न यद्वै यज्ञस्य क्रियमाणस्यान्तर्यन्ति पूयति वा

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara comments .—

यच्च यज्ञस्य क्रियमाणस्य कार्त्स्न्येन निवर्तयितुं प्रारब्धस्य सम्बन्धिनः अन्तर्यन्ति नाशयन्ति । प्रमादादननुष्ठानमेव नाशः ।......तदाऽस्त अङ्गं पूयति विशीर्यते दुष्टं पच्यते भिषजा चिकित्सितव्यं भवति । पूयी विशरणे ।

On *TaittrīyaSaṁhitā*, V, 2, 1.

CHANDRAGUPTA I—KUMĀRADEVĪ COIN TYPE : A RE-EXAMINATION

By

S. V. Sohoni

On obverse of this type, a royal couple is shown facing each other, Chandragupta wearing close fitting tail coat, holding an object in his raised right hand ; Kumāradevī is shown standing in front of Chandragupta looking at whatever is held in his right hand—her own left hand hanging limp and her right forearm raised up so as to rest near her waist. On reverse, a goddess seated on a throne with a couchant lion design, tightly worn *sārī*, pearl-bordered head-dress, ear-rings, armlets and shoes and holding in left hand a crescent-topped standard, sometimes adorned with a fillet.

The names of Kumāradevī and Chandragupta are found on obverse ; and *Lichchhavayaḥ* on reverse.

It was held by Allan that this representation on obverse was comparatively an original drawing ; and that it was improbable that after this type was issued, Gupta administration should have gone back to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushāṇa types. In other words, he thought that it was improbable that there would be a freak coin type for starting a series.

Dr. Altekar contested this view, pointing out that if this were a commemorative coin type issusd by Samudragupta, it was strange that Samudragupta should have omitted entirely any reference to himself in his commemorative piece. His alternative explanation is best stated in his Introduction to Bayana Hoard Catalogue—

(1) "There could be no doubt that Lichchhavis wielded considerable prestige at this time.........Where they were ruling by the beginning of the 4th century. A. D. we do not know. An inscription from Nepal refers to a Lichchhavi family ruling at Pushpapura or Pāṭaliputra and it is not unlikely that the Lichchhavi family to which Kumāradevī, the bride of Chandragupta belonged, may have ruled at this city. It is, however, more probable that Pāṭaliputra was in the hands of the Guptas and that the family of Kumāradevī was ruling at Vaiśālī."

(2) "When he (Chandragupta I) had extended and consolidated his kingdom, he may have decided to commemorate his military achievements by a formal coronation at which he assumed the imperial title *mahārājādhirāja*. This formal coronation, probably took place late in his life...........When the coinage was started late in the reign, the proud Lichchavis may well have insisted that name of their clan as well as their princess should appear on the imperial coinage.........The pressing logic of the political situation compelled Chandragupta I to remain content with the joint type throughout his reign. There is no further evidence to show that he ruled for a long time."

Thus, "The striking departure from the proto-type shown by the obverse of the coins of Chandragupta I" was explained in terms of Lichchavi insistence that "the figure and name of their princess, as also the name of her clan should appear on the coinage that was being issued."

As regards the composition on reverse Dr. Altekar has observed, "The relatively greater originality of the reverse of the coins of Chandragupta I, where the goddess is shown seated on a lion and not on a high-backed throne as on the coins of later Kushāṇas, is more difficult to explain". He has, later on, added, "The mint masters should have shown no back of the throne behind the lion. This they have done in some cases. In other cases, however, the back of the throne is retained, though the throne itself is absent, probably through the sheer force of convention and habit."

(3) "The political alliance with the Lichchhavis and their insistence to include the crowned queen on the obverse along with the emperor rendered it necessary that the obverse motif of the king offering oblations at the altar should be given up ; instead was introduced the motif of the king offering a present to Kumāradevī on the occasion of the memorable matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis."

II

This alternative explanation contains some obviously weak links. Firstly, there is an untenable assumption that there was joint rule of Chandragupta and Kumāradevī. In order to fit in with such an explanation based on a theory of partnership in administration between Chandragupta and Kumāradevī, it had to be further assumed that though Chandragupta I had a long reign lasting between 305 and 325 A. D., he struck coinage

only when his reign was about to end; and that this coinage was only of one type; and finally, that it not only indicated a peak of his power as emperor but a condition of sharing that power with a community to which one of his wives belonged. This theory was advanced on an absolutely unproved basis that although Chandragupta I ruled over a number of years, his "formal coronation" was postponed to a stage a few years before his death; and that his coins were issued only after that coronation, when Lichchhavi insistence regarding Kumāradevī, etc. had also to be taken into account. Such an explanation is but a reaction to a bald fact, viz. that assuming this coin type was issued by Chandragupta I. it was indeed very strange that he had none other, although he was supposed to have ruled for many years.

If a logical and admitted inference from what was stated in Harisheṇa's *praśasti* were taken into account, Samudragupta undoubtedly had some step-brothers; and that it was after assessing his relatively superior merits that his father had decided, after a selection, to make over management of his kingdom to him. Thus there were elder step-brothers If Samudragupta were Kumāradevī's eldest male issue, it would follow that Kumāradevī was probably not Chandragupta I's first queen. Even Dr. Altekar suggested, "Kumāradevī survived her husband". Thus it would be reasonable to assume that Chandragupta I had a political career for sometime at least, independently of Lichchhavi influence; and it would be somewhat odd if he issued coins only while under that influence, and inspite of an increase in his own authority such as to proclaim a joint administration.

It was unlikely that a clan, said to have a republican organisation, should have entered into an arrangement of joint administration with an emperor, as a result of one member of that community or clan giving away his daughter in marriage to that emperor. It would be an extraordinary situation that a republican community should have agreed to territorial or polititical consequences arising out of such a marriage of one of its daughters with an independent ruler. Even more improbable is an assumption that a clan of this nature had insisted upon a daughter of one of its members, on being a joint partner in an emperor's administration after her marriage with that emperor.

Lichchhavis as a people, were either under a king or under a republican form of government. If there had been any joint administration, it would have been more likely to be that of Chandragupta I and either his father-in-law or brother-in-law and not of Chandragupta I and a clan.

In fact, it would be more reasonable to assume that Lichchhavis were under a king if a latter inscription of a Lichchhavi king pointing to a Lichchhavi dynasty at Pāṭaliputra had any basis in history. There is no proof whatever in favour of a belief that there was either independent or dependent Lichchhavi political organisation in Vaiśālī during Chandragupta I's period.

There is yet another relevant factor. If this coin type at all represented a joint administration, how is it that not more than one specimen of it was found in territories associated with Lichchavi history.

Taking into account the improbability of (i) an emperor sharing his power with relations of one of his queens, or her clan or with that queen herself; or (ii) his striking coins only according to one type which, moreover, was alleged to have represented a joint administration; or (iii) of such coins not having been associated with territories of that clan or dynasty, it was more likely that occurrence of names like Chandragupta-Kumāradevī and Lichchhavayaḥ were intended as unmistakable pointers not towards Chandragupta I but some body else in whose career alone could be found an occasion for expressing gratitude to all these three, viz. his two parents and a community which helped him during a period of need. As Altekar has observed, "In Indian royal genealogies a king is usually found describing himself as the grandson through a daughter of a particular personage only when the maternal grandfather is known to have been of considerable help to his grandson".[1]

It was while dealing with his step-brothers and Nāga kings that Samudragupta must have found the Lichchavi help from Magadha to be most valuable.

III

I also do not subscribe to a view advocated by Allan, Jayaswal and Altekar that obverse representation on this coin type was intended to show presentation of a gift by Chandragupta I to Kumāradevī—much less a marriage gift.

I venture to suggest that if the relative position of right hands of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī were examined, it would be clear beyond any doubt that Chandragupta was neither giving away any article to Kumāradevī nor was Kumāradevī taking over anything from him. It would have been a gross breach of etiquette if a queen were shown resting her right palm on her waist while her husband wanted to give her some

1. *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, **Introduction, p. xiii.**

article, particularly an article of value. Such a reticent position of her hand would have been unpardonable.

When Chandragupta Vikramāditya was shown taking over divine gifts from Chakra Purusha, his hand movement was entirely different.

FIG. I

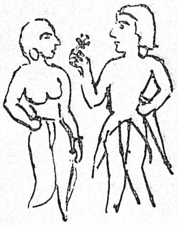

FIG. II

FIG. III

Figure I shows relative hand positions on Chandragupta-Kumāradevi coin type; figure II relates to a similar type of Kumāragupta I; and figure III depicts relative hand movement on Chakra-Vikrama coin type.

According to this pedestrian analysis, Chandragupta is not *giving* anything to Kumāradevī nor is she *taking* it from him. What he is doing is *to show* to her that which he has held in his hand; and on her part, Kumāradevī is *looking* at what is being held right in front of her eyes.

According to Altekar, Chandragupta I was represented as holding an object which "may have consisted of a ring, a bangle, a *sindūrdānī* and several other ornaments".[1] I had once thought that it was a ring of alliance or as Faurast-e-Shirazi, an old Persian poet, had described, "*halka-i-mahuda*". Whatever this article is, it is held up at least shoulder high by Chandragupta I and as far as possible in front of Kumāradevī and at her face level; and there is no doubt that Kumāradevī was shown intently *looking* at it.

IV

Is there then an explanation of this composition as would require doing away with awkward and untenable assumptions like a theory of joint administration, or a theory of a ruler dividing his power with a clan just when he reached his maximum political authority, or a theory of a long reign being associated with only a single freak coin type? Further, such an alternative view must fully take into account a common

1. Ibid., p. 1.

experience that a person does not withhold his or her hand if some body standing close by were personally transferring an article.

I venture to offer such a solution in paragraphs which follow.

That this obverse scene is a *development* from an earlier and common representation of a king offering oblations on a fire altar, was amply recognised. First thing must come first. It may be easily conceded that such a fire oblation picture did not indicate a routine *daily* occasion of fire worship ritual. If a king were to stay at home, he would undoubtedly have had to worship fire, according to prevailing notions in India and Persia in that period. Kālidāsa has referred to kings of Raghu's dynasty as, "those who offered oblations to fire according to prescribed rites".[1]

What this prototype depicted was not an ordinary occasion. A king need not put on for his daily ordinary worship of fire, a full military uniform viz. his *vārabāṇa* or hold military weapons while doing so. When he did both, he gave evidence that he was worshipping fire before proceeding on a campaign or *raṇayātrā*.

Kālidāsa has given valuable testimony on this point. When Raghu commenced his *dig-vijaya*, such a ritual was performed—called *nīrājanā-vidhi*; and a tongue of fire eloquently expressed his potential victories.[2] *Nīrājanā-vidhi* has been described in detail by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*.[3] It involved worship of different kinds of military equipment. That is why for showing such a rite being performed, Gupta mint-masters included a number of weapons in their compositions.

Kālidāsa has also referred to *vārabāṇa* as a dress fit for being worn while moving out for an expedition or "*prasthāna-kālochita-chāruvesha*".[4]

Thus a basic picture was formed of a king offering oblations on a fire altar having put on a *vārabāṇa* and an appropriate pair of trousers and boots, holding also some military weapons in his hand and on his person.

1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 6, यथाविधिहुताग्नीनाम् ।
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 25.

तस्मै सम्यग्घुतो वह्निर्वाजिनीराजनाविधौ ।

प्रदक्षिणार्चिव्याजेन हस्तेनेव जयं ददौ ॥

3. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, ch. xliii.
4. *Kumārasambhava*, xiii. 1, xvii. 54.

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V

Our obverse composition was a development from such an occasion, i. e. of a king leaving for a war.

Of such a departure scene Bāṇabhatta (than whom no keener observer of royal life exists in ancient Indian history) has given an account which is extremely valuable in this context–

"चतसृणामपि दिशां विजययोग्ये दण्डयात्रालग्ने⋯उदर्चिषं हुत्वा प्रदक्षिणावर्त-शिखाकलापमाशुशुक्षणिं⋯सह शासनवलयेन गमनमंगलप्रतिसरं प्रकोष्ठे⋯भवनान्निर्जगाम। ⋯अभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रामुपनिन्ये।"[1]

In this passage Harsha (then a bachelor) was described as having first done worship of fire, i. e. attended to a prescribed ritual, before undertaking his *daṇḍa-yātrā*. Next in point of time it was stated that he put on a bracelet (*pratisara*), which was meant to protect him during his forthcoming hazardous campaign.[2] This was a concession to superstition.

In fact, there appeared to be a standard practice, based on ancient authority, of wearing such an ornament while going out for a war or a difficult journey. Even in an inscription of Yaśodharman a reference was made to this ornament, or *rakshā-maṇḍana,* to be put on one's arm.[3] In Sanskrit literature there is ample pointer towards the use of a *valaya* of this kind as part of a desire for one's protection. That was why, for example, Yaksha was mentioned as having lost his *valaya,* due to his emaciation, when away from his wife, when he needed it most.[4]

Accordingly, what appears to be a circular bracelet or armlet was intended to be used by Chandragupta I himself while proceeding on a campaign—and if he was showing it to his queen, it was, obviously, by way of a re-assurance, at a time of parting. This was, therefore, a scene of farewell, or leave-taking. A perfectly circular object may look oval shaped, if held at an angle. There was no *sindūrdanī* meant for Kumārdevī, but a *kautuka, pratisara,* or *valaya,* i.e. bracelet held in hand by Chandragupta I for pointedly bringing it to his queen's notice that he was, in fact, having it with him.

In 1943 I had referred to Persian precedents for a royal couple being shown in sculpture and coin, holding a circular object[5]. I had not then realised that what was shown on this

1. *Harshacharita*, pp. 202-203.

2. Cf. *Vīramitrodaya,* pp. 341-395, where use of हैमम्मृणालमासितं कौतुकम् is referred to, quoting *Liṅga Purāṇa*.

3. उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जातिरत्नैर्भुज इव⋯⋯ ⋯V. 22. D. C. *Sircar, Select Inscriptions*, p. 391.

4. *Meghadūta*, I. 2.

5. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V. (I), pp. 37-42.

obverse composition was not a copy inspired by such precedents, but an incident completely Indian in sentiment whose depiction was similar in appearance.

This farewell picture which logically followed a departure scene was in its turn, followed by coin-types based on an idea of a king returning from a war after a successful campaign. Chandragupta Vikramāditya's horseman type has this background. Earlier, Samudragupta's *vīṇā* type had already given rise to a *vāsaka-sajjikā* picture on reverse.

Thus among Gupta coin types there are two broad categories: one based on a king being shown as setting out to fight a war or what we may call, a *raṇayātrā* group; and another, based on a king returning home after his campaign or what may be called a *vāsaka-sajjikā* group.

VI

This is confirmed by a similar type issued by Kumāragupta I, where that king has been shown holding in his hand, instead of a *rakshā-valaya* a head ornament called *shikhaṇḍābharaṇa*. I have examined this issue as well as Skandgupta's 'King and Lakshmī' type, separately, as there were other points of interest.

VII

Recently, on an altogether independent basis, it was suggested that on examination of relative gold contents of some Gupta coins this Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type appeared to be the earliest in Gupta coinage as the percentage of gold in coins of that type was more than that in any other type; that there was a progressive decline in such a percentage; and finally, that Gresham's law, i.e. that good money drives out bad money afforded basis for this conclusion[1].

There are, however, severe limitations on this theory—

(a) It was found that percentage of gold varied between coins even of one type. It would be unsafe, accordingly to strike an average of gold content percentage even in respect of one type and more so, to submit a general conclusion regarding a number of types.

(b) That some coins were really medallions issued on specific occasions should not be ignored. It is chronology of those occasions which should determine their sequence rather than percentages of gold contained in them.

(c) A Gupta king had several mints. Each mint struck coins according to available types, after taking into account

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1. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVIII (II), pp. 187-197.

quantity of gold given to it. That was why percentages of gold varied even among coins belonging to one type. To assume that for striking a new coin type a lesser quantity of gold was available, is a big assumption. It follows that there may be coin of one type struck later which may have more gold relatively than some coins of an earlier type, both issued by one king. This is exactly what is found among figures of percentages of gold content given by Maity.

It follows that it would not be correct to subscribe to a view that Gupta kings more or less invented new coin types in order to debase their currency ; or that because it had maximum percentage of gold, Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type was the earliest issue in Gupta coinage ; or that, therefore, Chandragupta I had issued that type.

VIII

A surer basis for determining sequence of different coin types is afforded by analysis of a definite art motif, e. g. what may be called a lotus design as regards Gupta coinage. I have shown elsewhere that a Greek cornucopiae and a Greek fillet were consciously replaced by purely Indian symbols of a *bīja-kosha* and a *sanāla-kamala* or lotus plant; and that *bīja-kosha* and a lotus plant appearing on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type were based on a stage of development of this design which was *later* than that included on some other coin types of Samudragupta. This would directly support a conclusion drawn in this essay that Chandragupta I did not issue this type ; and that it was Samudragupta who was really the founder of Gupta numismatics, and who was reponsible for this interesting development from a basic type as also for much that was characteristically original in some other types.

There has been no difficulty in ascribing Horse-sacrifice type coins to Samudragupta although they do not bear his name and contain only a phrase, *aśva-medha-parākramaḥ*, generally assumed to imply a reference to Samudragupta's performance of that sacrifice. Similarly absence of Samudragupta's name on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type did not amount to a contradiction of ascribing that type to him. In Harisheṇa's *praśasti* and in subsequent Samudragupta records, Samudragupta has been specifically referred to as *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, i.e. a grandson of a Lichchhavi through a Lichchhavi princess. There was enough indication left by Samudragupta on Chandragupta-Kumāradevi coin type to indicate a reference to him, viz. names of his parents and of a community which had helped him; and these materials must be treated exactly as that phrase, *aśva-medha-parākramaḥ*.

IX

On reverse, there is shown a queen or a goddess sitting on a lion throne. Allan thought that she was Lakshmī. Altekar was not sure whether she was Pārvatī or Lakshmī, and put a question mark in his Bayana catalogue after identifying her with Ambikā, i. e. Pārvatī.

Details like holding a *bīja-kosha* in one hand and a live lotus plant in another plus her feet resting on top of a *bījakosha* together with the fact that this goddess was shown sitting not on a lion but on a throne with a lion design on it, would indicate not Pārvatī but *Rājya-Lakshmī*. It is not necessary to speculate along with Jayaswal that any titular deity of Lichchhavi community had been depicted on this reverse. Nor does it appear necessary to blame Samudragupta's mint masters, as Altekar appears to have done when he observed that in some cases, "the back of the throne is retained, though the throne itself is absent, probably through the sheer force of convention and habit."

VIṆĀ COIN-TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AND KUMĀRAGUPTA I

By

S. V. Sohoni

Samudragupta's *Vīṇā* type coins have been justly counted among the finest specimens of the mint master's art in the Gupta period. They bear evidence of his refined artistic sensitivity, apart from corroborating what was said about his musical talents in his *praśasti* at Prayāga.

For two reasons, it was suggested that the obverse (Fig. I) of this coin type was settled in connection with his performance of a horse sacrifice. Firstly, it was pointed out that a Rājanya had to play songs composed by him on a *vīṇā* for one year before that sacrifice; and secondly, it has been urged that both on *Aśvamedha* type coins and *Vīṇā* type coins, one letter viz., "*Si*" was found to occur, thereby furnishing a direct link.

I have no doubt that Samudragupta took into account both the factors in approving this *Vīṇā*-type, viz., his own musical skill and an occasion furnished by a politically significant horse sacrifice, where ritual demanded playing on *vīṇā*.

While this much is common ground, I venture to suggest that there was yet another relevant consideration which weighed perhaps even more with Samudragupta in reaching this decision. It has been explained elsewhere with reference to Samudragupta's tiger-hunt coin-type that his sharp intellect, which had found perception into literary associations and meaning of words, was fully aware of what his own name implied. Samudra means a sea. That was undoubtedly a common meaning. This word was a part of Samudragupta's name. The territorial delimitation by the ocean has definitely played a distinct role in ambitions of rulers of North India in ancient history. For a *chakravartin*, connotation of universal sovereignty was phrased with reference to either the seven or four seas as marking his territorial jurisdiction. Thus, the kings of Raghu dynasty were '*Āsamudra-kshitīśa*', (in both ways). About Samudragupta himself, a frequently recurring description in Gupta records is that waters of the four seas had been flavoured by his fame (चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशसः). His *vīṇā* has either seven or four strings.

On this *Vīṇā* coin-type alone, Samudragupta has styled himself as *Mahārājadhirāja*, i. e., a great emperor of kings.

This was not without specific purpose. For it is only when all that which was intended to be conquered was in fact conquered, that sovereignty became perfect and left no further scope for conquest, as such. It was only complete victory in different directions that made for such a state of affairs. After achieving this result, an emperor could afford to show himself as devoted to peace. That was why instead of being shown as holding a *kṛitānta-paraśu*, a bow and arrow or a javelin or a spear or such other offensive weapon of war, a *mahārājādhirāja* was depicted, not holding an instrument that would kill, but an instrument essentially of peace—one that was based on skilled employment of harmony. It thus showed acquisition of great strength as alone leading to a constructive attitude of peace, which theme is the basic assumption of his *praśasti* at Prayāga. It is universal power which can justify disarmament, as it were. Only after that stage was reached that an emperor could discard his weapons of war and betake himself to a musical instrument. Thus, his title *Mahārājādhirāja* is a very significant element in appreciating this coin type, consistent with a preceding performance of a horse-sacrifice which was a method of announcement of such comprehensive sovereignty.

II

But what led to the selection of *vīṇā* among available musical instruments ? It may reflect a degree of a personal preference. But there were deeper underlying reasons and no mere exhibition of a personal hobby.

Firstly, playing on a *vīṇā* involved very delicate manipulations. A hand accustomed to wield mighty death-dealing weapons was thus intended to be shown equally capable of producing sweet harmonies also. A harp emphasized, as no other musical instrument did, a sharp contrast with another curved frame tied with a string, viz., a bow.

Secondly, Samudragupta's mint-master wanted to bring out how he had related his composition to a basic meaning of the principal word in his emperor's name, viz. Samudra, itself. A series of waves rolling towards the beach is among very impressive sights on India's eastern and western coasts. Thus an image was formed personifying both Samudra taken as the Sea playing his music, represented as waves rolling towards a curved line or lines, on a harp. It is reaching this rhythm on a sea-shore which was held forth as an ideal of every ambitious ruler of ancient India. Samudragupta's *Vīṇā*-type coin is a brilliant intellectual effort to underline this concept. That way, every emperor whose dominions were delimited only by the sea-shore, could alone afford to relax as Samudragupta did—and that determining line equally witnessed a music of the sea.

III

The reverse of this type is equally a logical corollary (Fig. II). Even for his standard coin type, Samudragupta had chosen to show, on the obverse, a king performing the religious ritual of worshipping fire before proceeding on his military

FIG. I

FIG. II

FIG. III

FIG. IV

FIG. V

FIG. VI

FIG. VIII

FIG. IX

FIG. VII

FIG. X

expeditions ; and, on the reverse, Prosperity herself preparing to welcome a successful hero. To put it in terms of verifiable evidence from ancient scriptures and literature, on obverse was shown a king doing his oblations on a fire altar, a ritual which preceded his *raṇayātrā*, and, on reverse, Vijayalakshmī waiting to meet him.

But what happens when a hero has managed to attain universal sovereignty ? What reactions of Prosperity could be shown as corresponding to that ultimate situation ? To this question, Samudragupta's mint-master furnished a beautiful solution. He showed Prosperity as impatiently awaiting her Lord's attention.

This may require some explanation. But its stages are extremely clear : it began with a depiction of Prosperity won through valour when Prosperity was shown seated on a lion-throne. This was followed by Prosperity being shown as walking towards a successful hero, like an *abhisārikā*, e. g. on the Kācha coins (Fig. III). But, regarding one who has attained full limits of conquest, Prosperity, on being solely dependent on him, must try to attract him, i. e.. make him interested in her. That was done from a dressing room seat.

This coin type's reverse shows this unmistakably. A lady is depicted, seated on a high wicker stool. There is evidence that its occupation was intended for a short time. It was an article of furniture used in a lady's dressing room. In Amaravati sculpture, it was such a wicker stool which was used by Queen Māyā while waiting for king Suddhodana (Fig. IV). It was also used, with a strange sense of irony, by Bodhisattva as a *mahākapi*, while he was being dressed before a king.

One may note how exquisitely impatience is shown by that lady who has slightly raised her right or left leg and is leaning forward, with her right arm extended (Fig. II).

IV

Seated on a couch, Chandragupta II was shown holding a lotus; and on the Couch type Chandragupta II had a long legend, "*Parama-bhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*". His title as *Mahārājādhirāja* is not confined to this type but appears on issues of some other varieties also. It may, however, be asked why he did not imitate his father and issue his own *Vīṇā*-type coin ? I suggest that this was largely due to the factor of the personal name of the king, as in the case of the tiger-hunt coin type—a consideration which Kumāragupta I decided to discard in both the cases.

But the implication had to be conveyed of sovereignty upto the sea, i. e., over the land.

The lotus held in the hand, called in Sanskrit, *līlā-kamala,* was regarded as a symbol of such a political position. This was referred to in the followlng significant stanza from the *Yaśastilaka-champū*—

श्रीलीलाकमलं तवावनिपते साम्राज्य चिन्हं महत्-
कीर्त्युत्पत्तिनिकेतनं क्षितिवधू विश्रामधाम स्वयम् ।
लक्ष्मीविभ्रमदर्पणं कुलगृहं राज्याधिदेव्याः पुनः
क्रीडास्थानमिदं विभाति भवनं वाग्देवताया इव ॥[1]

There are other Couch type coins of this emperor in which the queen is shown seated by his side. While I am at present unable to offer amendments to the readings proposed by Altekar on the two specimens of this variety discussed by him recently, a suggestion may be hazarded that the legend refers to the king as *kshitipati* or the lord of the earth and *kshiti* or the earth herself personified. I am dealing with this subject separately.

The *Vāsaka-sajjikā* representation was developed to its perfection in the *Vīṇā*-type coin of Kumāragupta I, where the queen (or Lakshmī personified) was shown seated on a couch, examining her face in a hand mirror or a *Vibhrama-darpaṇa* (Fig. V).

Altekar has observed that the goddess or the queen was shown holding "a flower of long stalk" on this coin type. Careful examination, however, shows that what is held in the queen's right hand is not a flower but a mirror set in ornamental border and with a long handle. Had it been a flower, its stalk would ordinarily have been perpendicular and not parallel to the flower. The way the middle finger was stretched to support this article and the way the other fingers along with the thumb are brought together to hold the end of the handle prove that it was not a flower. The size of the flat surface shown just opposite the nose and forehead of the queen, would correspond to that of an ordinary hand-mirror of even our own times. Sanskrit literature is full of references to hand-mirrors : thus Pārvatī was described as holding such a mirror in order to do a last minute inspection of her ornaments, apparel and decorations. No matter how many maids a lady may have, such a personal verification involving an adjustment here and a modification there, with the help of a hand-mirror, has been found to be indispensable. A wellknown Ajanta painting shows a princess doing such a critical scrutiny.

1. यशस्तिलकचम्पू (काव्यमाला संस्करण), Vol. II, 243-44.

Both the handle and frame of such a hand mirror were generally made of ivory, elaborately carved, for lightness and elegance.

Figure VI shows this hand mirror as drawn on Kumāragupta's *Vīṇā*-type coin. Figure VII shows an outline taken from that type in order to show hand and finger position for holding this article in front of the queen's face. Figure VIII is a sketch of a mirror illustrated in that Ajanta painting showing a toilet scene of a princess. This Ajanta mirror does not show its reflecting surface which has been completely covered by its surrounding frame at the particular angle at which it was shown as held. Figure IX shows another mirror being used during a toilet scene drawn on an ivory plaque of the Gupta period, found at Begram (ancient Kapiśā) in Afghanistan.

The *Catalogue* notes that the queen has been shown wearing ear-rings. But she also has a necklace of either large pearls or jewels. She has bedecked her hair in the *dhamilla* style, so justly famous for its charm. She has bracelets on her hands and a *mekhalā* on her waist. Her feet are bare, perhaps, because they have just been dyed with *alaktaka*.

This lady's whole bearing is reminiscent of medieval Italian pictures of Aphrodite—a resemblance consisting not only in the shape of limbs or in the deliberately adopted posture, but even as regards the comparatively slight drapery on her bust. This composition was, indeed, a master-piece of Gupta art.

V

The reason for this departure from the prototype issued in Samudragupta's reign is not far to seek. It has been observed that Samudragupta's own name played a substantial part in the determination of the drawing on the obverse and that its implications had equally governed the depiction of Lakshmī herself awaiting attention of a sovereign whose conquests had reached their utmost limit, viz., the sea-shore. Lakshmī, for that reason, was shown as having been seated on an article of furniture which was then, as now, in such common use in a lady's baudoire. This is amply proved in ancient Indian sculpture and paintings ; and such a seat was found useful mainly because firstly it had no back, and secondly, attention and services of *prasādhikās* could be given without any hinderance.

As also noticed elsewhere, this reverse picture on Samudragupta's *Vīṇā*-type coins was subsequently appropriated to depict another occasion, viz. welcome to a conquering king when he returned home after a war.

The Horseman type coins of both Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I furnished several striking examples of a *vāsaka-sajjikā* awaiting the return of her lord. The mint master of Kumāragupta I introduced some variety in his drawings in order to depict the restlessness of the queen, e. g. in her indulging in a pastime (*mano-vinoda*) by feeding a peacock. In *śṛiṅgāra* literature, there is lot of description of a *nāyikā* eagerly waiting for meeting her lord, right at the main entrance of the house—and even this theme was utilised for a *vāsaka-sajjikā* drawing by a mint-master of Chandragupta II (Fig. X).

That is why on a Horseman type coin, on obverse the king riding on the horse was shown but lightly armed or not at all armed.

With this background regarding the development of such a stable motif of Sanskrit poetics, on reverse compositions of coin types, it is easy to understand why, Lakshmī, put on a high pedestal by Samudragupta, was replaced by Kumāragupta I with a queen, as a more natural and complete *vāsaka-sajjikā.*

In Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* is contained perhaps the finest description in old literature of a queen attending to her toilet and waiting for the king after he had returned from a war. As it is illustrated by this reverse picture, a quotation would be justified—

"अतः शयनतलमलंकुर्वतीमपरामिव लक्ष्मीम् ⋯ अनङ्गतोरणस्रजमिव चरणपल्लवाभिरामाम्, ⋯ अनङ्गशरधिमिव पूर्वानुवृत्तं जङ्घाभोगाम्, ⋯ अनङ्गमण्डपिकामिवोरुस्तम्भश्रिताम्, अनङ्गयोगाभ्यासभूमिमिव विशालजघनस्थलाम्, ⋯ अनङ्गायुधयष्टिमिवमुष्टिमितमध्यभागाम्, अनङ्गशरासारवृष्टिमिव परिपूर्णपयोधराम्, अनङ्गवनवसुधामिव भुजलतानन्दिनीम् ⋯ आचामयन्तीमिव शृङ्गाररसोत्तरङ्गितैः कटाक्षवीक्षितैः धृतवासकसज्जिकास्थितिं नामामृतमतिमहादेवीमपश्यम् ।[1]

Thus a somewhat austere atmosphere shown on both obverse and reverse of Samudragupta's *Vīṇā* type coins as compared with later times, was replaced on similar coins of his grandson by a more luxurious and voluptuous suggestion cast in much more human mould. Though he followed his grandfather in styling himself *Mahārājādhirāja* on this coin type, Kumāragupta I did not possess his grandfather's name, which to Samudragupta was vital in the selection of the musical instrument, viz. a *Vīṇā.* That was no difficulty. Did not Kālidāsa clearly claim for this very instrument that it provoked effectively a sentiment of love ?

1. यशस्तिलकचम्पू (काव्यमाला संस्करण), Vol. II, आश्वास IV, pp. 31-32.

ALLEGED CORNUCOPIÆ AND FILLET ON GUPTA COINAGE

BY

S. V. SOHONI

Greek mythology contains three explanations of cornucopiæ: one traces it to a horn of a goat, by name, Amaltheia, which had suckled Zeus. The horn was broken and filled with fruits and flowers and placed afterwards by Zeus, along with the goat, among the stars. According to another version, it was a horn of Achelous, a river god, which was wrenched off by Hercules and which forthwith became a horn of plenty. Later mythologists combined these two tales and tried to explain how a horn of Amaltheia became a horn of Achelous. It was surmised that the origin of the symbol could be traced in the use of horns of oxen or goats as drinking cups in ancient Greece.

This classical Greek notion was doubtless exotic on Indian soil, although it was made familiar to people in this country through a long succession of Indo-Greek, Parthian and Saka coin types.

Students of Gupta numismatics have generally held so far that even Gupta coin types continued to show a cornucopiæ, this drawing being an inheritance from preceding Kushāṇa coin types. Differing from this opinion, it was suggested by Dr. V. S. Agrawala that, "The *śubha śṛiṅga* of Indian literature is the same as cornucopiæ which was the horn of abundance used as the symbol of plenty".[1]

In this essay three main suggestions have been made—

(i) For a long time, this symbol of a cornucopiæ had appeared on coin types of Indo-Greek, Parthian and Saka rulers in India.

(ii) Use of an auspicious horn was not unknown to ancient Indian ceremonial. But it was not a symbol of abundance.

(iii) Samudragupta, however, consciously replaced a drawing of a cornucopiæ by another drawing which was similar to it and which conveyed precisely that very suggestion of abundance.

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1. V. S. Agrawala, "*Cornucopia, in Indian Literature and Tradition*," *JNSI.*, XVII. Pt. II, pp. 92-93.

As regards occurrence of cornucopiæ on coin types of Indo-Greeks, Parthians and Sakas there is no doubt whatever that it was an exact copy of its classical prototype.

That Gupta mint masters drew a somewhat different figure was also recognised long ago. Thus Vincent Smith pertinently remarked in 1884, while discussing depiction of a goddess on Samudragupta's coins holding such an article, "The suggestion that the figure of the Ardoksho goddess was adopted by Samudragupta in mere imitation of a foreign design does not appear tenable. The coins with this reverse undoubtedly show evident traces of foreign influence but they are far from being mechanical copies of alien design". In 1885, W. Theobald stated, "The cornucopiae (as it is called) on the Gupta coinage differs considerably from either type of the symbol on the Indo-Scythian coins and this difference is too constant and circumstantial to be the result merely of accident or inferior execution"

It is necessary to state what this constant difference precisely amounted to. To quote Theobald again, "The point where the cornucopiae symbol on the Gupta coins diverges from its classical proto-type on the Indo-Scythian coins is this that whereas the latter has always the appearance of a receptacle stored with the kindly fruits of the earth, among which, in the best executed examples, beads, of grain may be distinctly recognised, the Gupta symbol is closed above by a more or less convex line ornamented by a variable number of approximately equal or equidistant pellets or dots". A cornucopiae can never have a lid on its mouth.

The theory that a classical cornucopiae was identical with an Indian ceremonial horn must deal with two points before it can be admitted as valid. Firstly, it should be adequately supported by references to a ceremonial horn in ancient literature ; and secondly, it should throw light on this fixed difference observed between drawings on preceding coin types and Gupta coin types.

An examination of evidence in Sanskrit literature indicates that while, undoubtedly, a horn was used in India, it was used not to symbolise plenty but as a container for holy water to be sprinkled on a king during his coronation. This purpose was vastly different from that of a bounty producing cornucopiae.

Thus its use was prescribed : "राजानमभिषेचयेत् यशस्वनीभ्यो नदीभ्यः समुद्राच्चोदकान्याहृत्य जीवन्तीनाम् गवाम् शृंगकोशैरभिषिंचयेत्." This quotation from the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* was explained by Mādhavāchārya in these terms : "जीवोपेतानाम् गवाम् शृंगाणि छित्वा तदग्रछिद्र निसृत-जलैरभ्रातृव्य इति रहस्येन साम्ना उदकानि शृंगकोशैरिति उभयत्र बहुवचननिर्देशात् पृथक् गंगादिउदकैरभिषिंचेत्। पृथक् आहरणस्यापि इदमेव प्रयोजनम्। पुरोहितो यं

राजानम् एवं कामयेत् कृत्स्नस्य भूमंडलस्य राकेव राजा स्यात् न अस्य चक्र भूमंडलम् केनचिदपि वैरिणा प्रतिहतं भवेत् इति ।”

In other words, one horn was not sufficient as different waters had to be sprinkled. That is why many were used as distinguished from only one cornucopiae featuring as held by a goddess on Greek, Parthian and Saka coin types. It is also evident that auspicious horns could not be obtained from dead animals.

For these reasons, a leader of Indian nationalism like Samudragupta who was so much in tune with cultural notions of his own country and who did so much for genuine revival, was not expected either to misunderstand or to confuse between what was meant by a Greek cornucopiae and a bovine horn used as a sprinkler of holy water during coronation ceremonies.

That he caused a slightly different figure to be drawn on his coins proves that he meant to indicate something else.

He considered it desirable to make as similar a drawing as possible to convey a similar meaning to that derived from a composition of a goddess like Demeter or Ardoksho or Nana holding a cornucopiae.

Identity of Lakshmī, or goddess of wealth, with these three goddesses, was an obvious suggestion. But a cornucopiae had to be replaced by something quite similar to it in form though completely Indian in meaning. A solution was found in drawing, instead of the cornucopiae, *lotus-seed-chamber* **(Fig. a)**.

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

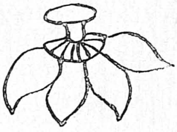

FIG. 5

FIG. A

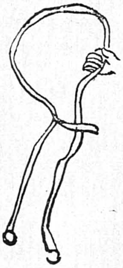

FIG. B

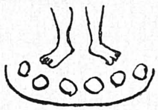

FIG. C

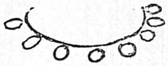

FIG. D

Theobald had querried : "The question arises whether this constant difference in type of the cornucopiæ symbol which is found to exist on the Indo-Scythian and Gupta coins respectively, does not mark a corresponding divergance of ideas, represented respectively by each type of the cornucopiæ symbol." Samudragupta had to deal with this very problem, but in a slightly different form, viz. how to convey the same idea of plenty through an approximately similar drawing.

If a lotus seed-chamber were studied, its cross section would be found to be like that drawn on Gupta coins (**fig. 3**). Such a cross section (**fig. 4**) consists of a convex line on top bordered by round seeds, 7 or 8 in number, this line resting on a triangle supported by a stem. This figure gives rise to a remarkable resemblance with a cornucopiæ. As Theobald noted, "The Gupta symbol is closed above by a more or less convex line ornamented by a variable number of approximately equal and equidistant pellets or dots." These pellets or dots are lotus seed and their drawing is perfect on any Gupta coin. On some coins even the characteristic apex or protruding point of the lotus seed is distinctly visible.

That a *bīja-kosha* was regarded in India as symbolising source of wealth is common knowledge. In fact, it is the *bīja-kosha* which is really that which is occupied by the goddess of wealth, the petals of the lotus being treated as ornamental border of her seat. This was particularly emphasised on Gupta coins.

A *bīja-kosha* was thus an exact parallel to a Greek horn of plenty, approximately in appearance and fully in implication.

Figure 1 is of a classical proto type of cornucopiæ. **Figure 2** is based on later Kushāṇa coin types drawings. **Figure 3** is based on drawings on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin types; and **Figure 4** is derived from Samudragupta's standard type. It would appear that if increasing departure from an original type would measure progress of evolution, **no. 3** came not before but after **no. 4**. The structure of a *bīja-kosha* has been most vividly shown on the battle axe, *Vīṇā* and Kācha coin types of Samudragupta. Figure 5 is based on drawings found on Archer type coins of Chandragupta II emphasising that it was really the *bīja-kosha* which formed the seat of Lakshmī. A logical further development was replacement of a *bīja-kosha*, on grounds of æsthetics, by a lotus with a long stalk held exactly in a similar posture.

In these circumstances, it would be a pity if a conscious change introduced with such careful thought were either disregarded through maintaining a belief that Gupta rulers continued to draw a cornucopiæ on their coin types or by confusing their drawing with an Indian ceremonial horn in terms of an argument that a cornucopiæ was an exact equivalent of such a horn. This problem was then handled in a spirit which was fully in accord with notions of Indian culture while respecting what was a mint master's prescription that as little change as possible in external appearance should be made in old conventional drawings. That is how nationalism begins its reconstrution. Older forms are respected to some extent; and if possible, even the ideas they convey. But they both must satisfy a national spirit, as far as practicable; and later on, even such forms are replaced by more radical substitutes.

If the horn was replaced by a *bīja-kosha*, what happened to the fillet or noose ? It may be argued that atleast this article could be held in her hand by Lakshmī without offending any orthodoxy ; and that, in fact, a noose in Lakshmī's hand would have been according to canonical prescription. It could be urged that there was every justification for the *Catalogue* description to that effect.

Closer examination, however, does not support this conclusion.

The alleged noose or fillet is really what was drawn to show a lotus plant including those portions of it which can send up extensions (vide fig. B). That is why almost on all Gupta coin types the ends of the stalk have been shown somewhat thicker, many times, even globular. This difference between a noose or fillet and a lotus stalk can be seen on Samudragupta's coin types; and is distinctly noticed even on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type coins.

Thus what was shown was Lakshmī holding a live lotus plant capable of developing further branches, or in Sanskrit, *sanāla-kamala.*

There is yet another important element which deserves consideration assuming for a moment that the earliest Gupta coinage was formed by coins of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type. This was the article on which the goddess or queen seated on the lion-throne was shown resting her feet (vide **fig. C**).

It is not a lotus, as suggested by Allan ; or a circular mat, "bedecked with a pearl border," as suggested by Dr. Altekar. The difference between this object and that on which the queen stands on the *Aśvamedha* type coins, is a material point. The

seed of the lotus must be shown *within* the circumference. Chandragupta-Kumāradevī issues show this quite clearly. The Aśvamedha coins show the pearls *outside* the circular mat (vide **fig. D**). Thus on the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type, the goddess rests her feet on the stable portion of the lotus—as she does anywhere else. In fact, in a rare issue of Samudragupta a subsequently more common composition of the goddess resting her feet on the centre of lotus was clearly anticipated.

Certain consequences of this analysis may now be noted—

(i) Dr. Altekar came to a conclusion with reference to the deity on the reverse of the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type that she held a cornucopiæ. I venture to suggest that she held a *bīja-kosha.*

(ii) Secondly, he also held that the deity was resting her feet on a circular mat. It is suggested that the feet may be shown kept on the top of a *bīja-kosha* and the dots represented the lotus seed.

(iii) He has observed that the identification of the deity was a point which, "cannot be settled at present". Later in the *Catalogue* itself she was referred to as "Ambikā (?)". It is suggested here that there need be no doubt whatever that the goddess was intended to be *Rājya-Lakshmī*—she holds a *bīja-kosha* in her left hand, a live lotus plant in her right hand and rests her feet on a large *bīja-kosha*, and the lion being a part from a lion-throne on which she is seated, in order to symbolise royal prosperity, properly enthroned.

I have examined elsewhere implications of this study on the problem of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type. The botany of the lotus plant needs full appreciation in the study of Gupta numismatics.

RELIGIOUS SEALINGS FROM RAJGHAT

By

V. S. Pathak

Mudrās in ancient India were used as passes, guarantees of authentication, private signets, royal seals and religious tablets. Kauṭilya prescribes that persons without *mudrā* should not be allowed to enter or go out of the country. The Superintendent of *Mudrās* was authorised to fine a person of the country who did not have a *mudrā* or who forged one.[1] Seals were attached to documents for authentication also. The *Arthaśāstra* enjoins on the Superintendent of Pastures to send the news of sudden attack to king by means of domesticated pigeons carrying letters enclosed with *mudrās* for authentication.[2] Signet rings were quite popular. They were sent along with messangers for identification. Hanumān in the *Ramāyaṇa*[3] and *Śakuntālā* in the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalaṁ*[4] had rings with names of Rāma and Dushyanta respectively inscribed. The *Mudrā-Rākshasa* is based upon the *mudrā*—seal-ring of the minister Rākshasa. These seal-rings bearing names were called *nāma-mudrās*. Impressions of signet rings were also attached for authentication. A box full of costly attire and ornaments was sent along with the impression of a signet ring belonging to the princess in the *Somadattacharitaṁ* of *Dāśakumāra.*[5] Kings and officers used to impress seals on their orders. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* prescribes that the cloth or copper-plate bearing the order of the king should have the stamp of royal seal.[6] This practice is mentioned in the *Vyāsa* and *Bṛhaspati-*

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1. समुद्रो जनपदं प्रवेष्टुं निष्क्रमितुं वा लभेत् । द्वादशपणममुद्रो जानपदो दद्यात् । कूटमुद्रायां पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः ।

Arthaśāstra, II, 52-53.

2. शैलवृक्षविरूढा वा, शीघ्रवाहना वा, अमित्राटवीसञ्चारं च राज्ञो गृहकपोतैर्मुद्रायुक्तैर्हारयेयुः धूमाग्निपरम्परा वा ॥

loc. cit.

3. वानरोऽहं महाभागे दूतो रामस्य धीमतः । रामनामाङ्कितं चेदं पश्य देव्यङ्गुलीयकम् ॥

LXIII, 2.

4. Dushyanta in I Act produces a *nāma-mudrā* for identification to Priyaṁvadā and Śakuntalā—उभे नाममुद्राक्षराण्यनुवाच्य परस्परमवलोकयतः । It has been described as *nāma-mudrā* and *aṅgulīyaka* in Acts IV, VI.

5. सायञ्च राजकन्याङ्गुलीयकमुद्रितां वासताम्बूलवरांशुकयुगलभूषणावयवगर्भाञ्च पेटिकाम् *Dāśakumāra uttara,* II *uchchhvāsa.*

6. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यञ्च कारयेत् । 318.
पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् । 319.
राजमुद्राङ्कितन्तथा ॥ *yāj,* I.

smritis.[1] The *Śukra-nīti* lays down that royal and official orders should be stamped with seals.[2] *Mudritā,* one of the several courts of justice, is presided by a judge appointed by the king.[3] He was authorised to use the royal seal. The judicial officer also used to imprint signature from the royal seal.[4] Royal seals are mentioned in classical literature[5] and inscriptions.[6] Religious tablets specially *chaitya-mūrti-mudrās* were very popular. They bear the embossed figure of *stūpa* and mystic formulas (*dhāriṇī*). Seals from Sunet and Rajghat respectively bearing the legends—*dharma-kartavya* and *harismaraṇa* seem to have religious significance.[7] Likewise, temple and *charaṇa*–seals to be discussed presently had religious import.

Aṅka, i.e. device or legend on seals may be names (*nāmāṅka*) or symbols. Names include *gotra*[8] and surnames also. *Namāṅka* may not be necessarily the proper name. It may be *viruda* specially devised for seals. For example, Samudragupta had *parākrama* as the *aṅka* which was used with or without the proper name. A clay seal bearing the legend *parākrama* has been discovered.[9] The *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* mentions 'Garuḍa' as the *aṅka.* The *Harshacharita* refers to seals with 'Bull' symbol.

Seals were made of clay, copper, silver, gold and precious stones. Clay-seals, however, were most popular. The *Arthaśāstra*[10] provides the issue of *mudrās* (passes) on payment of *māshaka*—a coin of the smallest denomination equal to one-twentieth of a *paṇa.* This may indicate that these *mudrās* were made of clay. Bāṇabhaṭṭa interestingly describes the formation of clay-sealings. Record-officer brought a new gold seal to the king Harsha who

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1. अनेन विधिना लेख्यं राजशासनकं लिखेत् ।
Vyāsa, quoted by Aparārka, I, p. 580.
2. समुद्रा वर्षमासादि धनाध्यक्षाक्षरान्वितम् ।
Bṛihaspati
3. स्वस्वमुद्राचिह्नितं च लेख्यान्ते कुर्युरेव हि । 367.
समुद्रं विलिखेयुर्वै सर्वे मन्त्रिगणास्ततः । 369.
Śukra II.
4. Kane *History of Dharmaśāstra,* III, p. 277.
5. प्राड्विवाकहस्तांकं मुद्रितं राजमुद्रया । *Vīramitrodaya,* III, p 195.
6. वृषाङ्कामभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रां समुपनिन्ये । VII, *uchchhvāsa*
आदिराज राजतशासनमुद्रानिवेश VIII, *Harshacharita.*
7. *Allahabad Pillar Inscription,* 1·24. ; *Inscriptions of Bengal* Vol. III, mentions *Sadāśiva-mudrā.*
8. *JNSI,* XIX, 72n.
9. Kālidasa mentions *gotrāṅka* in connection with a song :—
मद्गोत्राङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्रास्तुकामा । *Meghadūta,* II, 85.
10. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire,* 62*n.*
11. मुद्राध्यक्षो मुद्रां माषकेण दद्यात् । II, 52-53, p. 140.

took it in his hand. But as he proceeded to imprint it on a clod of earth previously placed before him, the seal fell down on the bank of the Sarasvati river. Rows of letters impressed on the half-dry soft earth of the bank shone clearly.[1]

Temple clay-sealings are found at several places—Sunet[2], Basarh[3], Bhita[4], Rajghat etc. In this connection, we may note Gadhaiyā coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Oṁkāra* on the reverse.[5] According to Indraji, they were issued by temple-authorities. The coin belongs to the medieval period, although its date cannot definitely be determined. It does not seem to be a normal issue, but was probably a token of visit given by temple-authoritis of the famous Oṁkāra-Māndhātā shrine to the visiting pilgrim. These temple-seals probably served the dual purpose of the visit token and guarantees of authentication. Bhārat Kalā Bhavan has got in its collection a small clod of earth fixed to a scroll of birch-bark which would prove that these sealings were sent along with letters as guarantees of authentication. A *chāturvidya* sealing from Rajgir[6] and Āmnātakeśvara[7] sealing from Banaras respectively discovered at Nālandā and Basarh point in the same direction.

At Rajghat, sealings of seven temples—(i) Pītakeśvara, (ii) Avimukteśvara, (iii) Kalaśeśvara, (iv) Gabhastīśvara, (v) Lolārkka (vi) Yogeśvara and (vii) Devadevasvāmī have been discovered. They are important as they furnish a good deal of information on the history of temples, cult-association and religious motifs. I am publishing them here with the kind permission of Sri Rai Krishna Das, Hon. Director of Bhārat Kala Bhavan where these sealings are preserved.

1. Pitakeśvara Sealing

Circular, black seal of 8″ diameter with two impressions :-

I. A line in the middle divides the flan.
   Upper field :—Couchant *Nandī*.
   Lower field :—legend *Pītakeśvara* in Gupta characters of fourth-fifth century A. D.

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1. तत्रस्थस्य चास्य ग्रामाक्षपटलिकः सकलकरणिपरिकरः.......वृषाङ्कामभिनव-घटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रां समुपनिन्ये । जग्राह च तां राजा । समुपस्थापिते च प्रथमत एव मृत्पिण्डे परिभ्रश्य महीतले पपात मुद्रा । मन्दाश्यानपङ्कपटले मृदुमृदि सरस्वतीतीरे परिस्फुटं व्यराजन्त राजयो वर्णानाम् । *VII Uchchhvāsa*, p. 203.
Harshacharita (N. S. Edition)
2. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 106-7
3. *ASI. AR.* 1903-04, pl *XL.*
4. *ASI. AR.*, 1913-14, pl. *XLIX.*
5. *JBBRAS,* XII, p. 325.
6. *JNSI,* XII, p. 178.
7. *ASI. AR,*

II. A crowing cock walking to left. The plume is very beautifully drawn. **Pl. II. 9**

2. Pītakeśvara-Avimukteśvara Sealing

An oval black sealing with two impressions :—

I. The bigger impression :—
Upper field :—Couchant bull to left with trident—battle-axe in front.
Lower field :—legend *Pītakeśvarasvāminaḥ*.

II. The smaller impression :—
Upper field :—seated *Nandī*.
Lower field :—legend *Avimukta*. **Pl. II. 10**

3. Avimukteśvara Sealings

Eight sealings of Avimukteśvara temple assignable to a date from the Gupta period to tenth-eleventh century A. D. are preserved in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, B.H.U. They bear seated *Nandī*, trident-battle-axe in front of couchant bull on the upper field and legends variously as *avimukta, avimukteśa avimukteśvara, avimukteśvarasya* and *avimukteśvara-bhaṭṭāraka* in the lower field. We describe two of these sealings below :—

A

An oval sealing with a single impression :—

Upper field :—Couchant *Nandī* to l. ; in front trident-battle-axe.

Lower field :—*Avimukteśvar-bha[ṭṭāraka]* in letter of fifth-sixth century A.D.

B

Circular sealing with 1.1″ diameter with single impression :—

Upper field :—Couchant bull in front of trident—battle-axe ; letter *ga* behind the bull.

Lower field :—*Śrī-avimukteśa* in the characters of ninth century A. D. **Pl. II. 11**

Pītakeśvara sealing is undoubted the earliest and it may be assigned to fifth century A.D. Pītakeśvara-Avimukteśvara combined sealing suggests that these two shrines were associated. Pītakeśvara seems to be the major shrine as its legend occurs in the bigger and evidently more important impression whereas Avimukteśvara was probably an associate shrine. After the Gupta period, however, Pītakeśvara lost all its importance and Avimukeśvara gradually became the most prominent deity of the city. Not a single sealing of Pītakesvara after the Gupta period has been discovered while eight sealings of Avimukteśvara from fifth century A. D. to eleventh century

A. D. are in Bharat Kala Bhavan, besides some in the collection of Allahabad Municipal Museum. Reference to *Avimukta* in the Post-Gupta classical literature, scriptures, Purāṇas, digests and inscriptions as the most important deity of the city support the above conclusion.

The *Liṅga Purāṇa* as quoted by the *Kṛitya-Kalpataru* mentions Prītikeśvara *liṅga* in front of Avimukteśvara[1] The identification of this Prītikeśvara with Pītakeśvara of sealings can hardly be doubted as both are associated with Avimukta. But the evidence of sealings indicates that Pītakeśvara was the major deity and Avimukta was its minor associate whereas the *Purāṇa* notes it passingly as one of the several minor *liṅgas* in the temple of Avimukteśvara shrine. This is probably because of the fact that this portion of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* reflects the conditions of the Post-Gupta period when Pītakeśvara had sunk into insignificance.

The device of 'Crowing Cock' on the sealing of Prītakesvara is very interesting. These *aṅkas* generally gave rise to mythological and semi-historical stories. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* states that cocks always stayed and roamed about in the shrine of Avimukteśvara. They were worshipped by pilgrims for the fulfilment of their desires.[2] It further derives

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1. अविमुक्तस्य चाऽग्रे तु लिङ्गं पश्चान्मुखं स्थितम् ।
प्रीतिकेश्वरनामानं प्रीतिं यच्छति शाश्वतीम् ॥

Tīrtha-Kalpata.u, *P. III*

Kāśī-khaṇḍ, 97 also describes it :—

तत्सन्निधौ प्रीतिकेशस्तत्र प्रीतिर्मम प्रिये ।
तत्रोपवासादेकस्मात्फलमब्दशताधिकम् ॥ २१८ ॥
एकं जागरणं कृत्वा प्रीतिकेश उपोषितः ।
गणत्वं पदवी तस्य निश्चिता मम पर्वणि ॥ २१९ ॥

This Prītikeśvara *līnga* is at present near Sākhī Vināyanaka in Kālikā gali.

2. कुक्कुटाश्चापि देवेशि तस्मिन् स्थाने स्थिताः सदा ।
अद्यापि तत्र दृश्यन्ते पूज्यमाना शुभार्थिभिः ॥

Linga Purāṇa in *Tīrtha-Kalpataru* p. 109.

नीयमानं पुरा देवि तल्लिङ्गं शशिमौलिनः ।
राक्षसैरन्तरिक्षस्थैर्व्रजमानं सुसत्वरम् ॥
यस्मिन् देशे यदाऽऽयातास्तदा देवेन चिन्तितम् ।
अविमुक्ते न मोक्षस्तु कथं मे सम्भविष्यति ॥
इममर्थं तु देवेशो यावच्चिन्तयते प्रभुः ।
तावत्कुक्कुटशब्दस्तु तस्मिन् देशे समुत्थितः ॥
शब्दं श्रुत्वा तु तं देवि राक्षसास्त्रस्तचेतसः ।
लिङ्गमुत्सृज्य भीतास्ते प्रभातसमये गताः ॥
अविमुक्तस्तत्रमध्पे अविमुक्तं ततः स्मृतम् ।

loc. cit.

the word *'avimukta'* as *mukta* (left) because of (the crowing) of cock (*avi*) and narrates an interesting story. The *Liṅga* of the moon-crested god was being carried away by demons (from atmospheric region to nether world) in the darkness of night, but as soon as they reached this place i. e., Vārāṇasī, a cock crowed aloud as if to announce the advent of day. Demons got suddenly flustered and took to their heels. Hence it is known as *Avimukta.* It seems that the tradition of the cock was transferred from Pītakesvara to its associate god Avimukteśvara when the former lost its importance. Later on, it was made the basis of derivation for the word *Avimukta.* It may be noted here that this derivation is much later. The *Mahābhārata*[1] and an inscription of the eighth century[2] A.D. take it in the sense of a place where a person becomes free (*mukta*) from *avi* (sin).

The above-mentioned eight sealings of Avimukteśvara range from fifth-sixth century A.D. to tenth-eleventh century A.D. and thus inform us of the shrine's existence for six hundred years. Of this period, there are several literary and epigraphic references to Avimukta. The *Jābāla.Upanishad* mentions that Avimukta is establised between Varuṇā and Nāsī[3]. The *Mahabhārata* and the *Purāṇas* refer to it. The *Daśakumāracharita*[4] narrates the story of Arthapāla who had gone to Vārāṇasi and worshipped Avimukteśvara. The *Tīrtha-Kalpataru* compiled at Banaras by Lakshmīdhara (C. 1110 A. D.), the political minister of Govindachandra Gahaḍavāla makes allusions to it as the most prominent *liṅga* of the city.[5]

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1. अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरूद्वह । दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्यया ॥
Mahābhārata III. 84.

2. सगणो यत्र देवो विमुक्तः ।
यं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्महापि च्युतकलिकलुषो जायते शुद्धभावः ॥ V.I.

The Banaras Ins of Pantha, EI. IX, 60 '*Vimukta*' in the above verse has been translated by Śri Daya Ram Sahni as 'emancipated god." But the word really seems to be '*avimukta*' with 'a' in *avagraha* form not written. In epigraphs of this age, *avagrahas* are generally omitted. Compere च्युतकलि-कलुषो of the present inscription with *Matsya.*

ब्रह्महा योऽभिगच्छेत्तु अविमुक्तं कदाचन ।
तस्य क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्याद् ब्रह्महत्या निवर्त्यते ॥

Liṅga Puraṇa says :—

'अवि'शब्देन पापस्तु वेदोक्तः कथ्यते द्विजैः ।
तेन मुक्तं मया जुष्टमविमुक्तमतोच्यते ॥

3. Kane, IV, 625 n.

Bhasma-Jābalopanishad (*Śaivopanishad,* p. 140) :—

न तत्त्याज्यं न तत्त्याज्यं मोचकोऽहमविमुक्ते निवसताम् ।

But the date of these *upanishads* is rather late.

4. परिभ्रमन् उपासरं कदाचित् काशीपुरीं वाराणसीम् ।
उपस्पृश्य···अविमुक्तेश्वरं भगवन्तं अन्धकमथनं अभिप्रणम्य
IV. p. 198-199 (Vidyasāgar Edition).

5. See 'introduction LXIXIII (G.O.S. Edition).

The earliest epigraphic reference to Avimukta occurs in the *Banaras Ins. of Panth*[1] in eighth century A. D. The *Amareśvara Temple Ins.* in eleventh century A. D. enumerates it as one of the Five Great *Liṅgas* of the country—four others being Kedāra, Oṁkāreśvara, Amareśvara and Mahākāla.[2] The *Halāyuda Stotra* inscribed in the same temple in 1123 V. S. describes it as "divine light of Śiva manifested at Vārāṇasi.[3]" The *Kamauli C. P. of Govinda Chandra Gahaḍavāla,* V. S. 1055, mentions Kāśī as *Avimukta-kshetra.*[4]

Keeping aside the evidence of the *Jābala-Upanishad,* date of which is very difficult to determine, it may safely be stated that Avimukta shrine came into existence by the fifth-sixth century A.D. and became the most prominent deity of Banaras from eighth century A.D. to twelfth century A. D.

From thirteenth century A. D., however, Avimukteśvara fades into non-entity and Viśveśvara emerges as the presiding deity of Kāśī. The Sena inscriptions from the first decade of thirteenth century A.D. describe Kāśī as "the site of Viśveśvara." A fragmentary inscription dated 1296 A. D. built in the mosque at Jaunpur describes the construction of Padmeśvara temple at the gate of Viśveśvara.[6] Mallinātha (14th. century A. D.) on the *Raghuvaṁśa*[7] (XVIII, 24) explains Viśveśvara as the lord of Kāśī. *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* which extols Viśveśvara was translated in Telugu by Śrīnātha[8] (C. 1440 A. D.). Thus, Avimukteśvara was the most sacred deity of the city only upto the concluding decade of twelfth century A. D. and from the very beginning of thirteenth century A. D. Viśveśvara enjoyed that status. This sudden rise of Viśveśvara within almost a decade is inexplicable. It is further curious to note that Vāchaspati Miśra in the fifteenth century A. D. remarks that Avimukta is locally known as Viśveśvara. But Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (C. 1560 A. D.) in the *Tri-Sthalī Setu* (p. 269) and Mitra Miśra (C. 1620 A. D.) in the *Tīrtha-prakāśa* regard them as two different *liṅgas.* In the temple of Viśveśvara pulled down in the time of Aurangazeb,

1. *EI*, IX, 60.
2. अविमुक्तश्च केदार ओंकारश्चामरस्तथा ।
पञ्चमस्तु महाकालः पञ्चलिङ्गाः प्रकीर्त्त्ये (प्रकीर्त्यते) ॥
EI, XXV, 185.
3. वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं,
षै (शै) वं ज्योतिः ··· ··············· ।
Ibid, 179.
4. *EI, XXV,* 179.
5. क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि ।
6. *IB,* III, p.
7. विश्वेश्वरं काशीपतिमाराध्योपास्य etc. Although, it is extremely doubtful that Viśveśvara in the *Raghuvaṁśa* is the name of the *liṅga* in Kāśī.
8. *Tīrtha Kalpataru, Incr. LXXIV.*

there was a subsidiary shrine dedicated to Avimukteśvara in north-east direction. Likewise in the present Viśvanātha temple constucted by Ahalya Bai, Avimukta occupies a subsidiary shrine in the same direction and is popularly known as "*guru* (teacher) of Viśvanātha". These different pieces of evidence taken together may suggest that Viśveśvara was originally an associate and minor *liṅga* in Avimukteśvara but afterwards assumed great importance and became the tutelary deity of Kāśī.

The seal-evidence points out that Avimukteśvara was a minor *liṅga* associated with Pītakeśvara in the fourth century A. D. but it soon outstripped the latter. History repeated itself and we find that Avimukteśvara from the thirteenth century A. D. sank into insignificance and Viśveśvara, an associate minor deity, became the presiding deity of Vārānasī.

4. Kalaśeśvara Sealing

An oval black seal measuring ·9″ × ·7″ and heaving a single impression. Field is divided by a line in the middle.

Upper field :—Gaṇeśa sitting in *paryaṅkāsana.* Trunk is turned towards right.

Lower field :—*Śrī-Kalaśeśvara* in the characters of seventh century A.D. **Pl. II. 12.**

Kalaśeśvara was an associate *liṅga* in the shrine of Śvetesvara. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* describes these twin *liṅgas* and narrates the story of their origin.[1] Sveta, the great sage, installed a *liṅga* known after his name which was so sacred that persons who saw it assumed the form of Gaṇapati. Once when the sage was worshipping Śiva, the god of Death laid his icy fingers on him. Śiva, thereupon, got enraged and came out of the water-pot (*Kalaśa*) of the sage Sveta. He burnt the body of *Kāla.* But he had to assume the form of Gaṇapati as he saw the *Śveteśvara liṅga.*

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1. श्वेतेश्वरं तु विख्यातं श्वेतेन स्थापितं पुरा ।
पश्चिमे तस्य दिग्विभागे कलशेश्वरसंज्ञितम् ।
तस्य पूजाप्रसक्तस्य कदाचित्कालपर्यये ॥
आजगाम तमुद्देशं कालः परमदारुणः ।
जगाम सर्वभावेन शरणं भक्तवत्सलम् ।
श्वेते तु शरणं प्राप्ते लिङ्गं सत्रिपुरान्तकम् ।
चिन्तयामास कालस्य वधोपायं सुरेश्वरः ।
कलशं यत् स्थितं तस्य उदकेन प्रपूरितम् ।
तं भित्त्वा तु समुत्तस्थौ क्रोधविस्फारितेक्षणः ॥
श्वेतस्य गत्वा सामीप्यं गणेशत्वं तथैव च ।
कृत्वा विनिग्रहं कालं तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ।

Liṅga, quoted in *Kalpataru,* p. 99-101.

This story seems to have started from the *aṅka* of Gaṇapati on the seal.

5. Sealing of Gabhastīśvara

A small oval seal having one impression of ·6″ × ·7″

Upper field :—Seated bull to right

Lower field :—[*śrī*] *Gabhastīśvara*—in the characters of fifth-sixth century A. D. **Pl. II. 13.**

The shrine of *Gabhastīśvara* is mentioned several times in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*.[1] But *Kāśī-Khaṇḍa* gives its story in greater details. It associates *Gabhastīśvara* with the shrines of Maṅgalā-Gaurī and Mayūkhāditya. According to it, Siva was pleased with the worship performed by Sun. He, therefore, granted a boon that the *liṅga* installed by Sūrya would be known as Gabhastīśvara and further that persons worshipping it along with Maṅgalā-Gaurī and Mayūkhāditya (shrine of Sūrya) would get pleasure, pelf and prosperity. The Purāṇa adds that persons should feed girls (*kumārikā*) for the pleasure of Maṅgalā and Gabhastīśvara and that they should visit the shrine of Mayūkhāditya on sundays.[2] Evidently, we find here the assimilation of three cults—*Saura*, *Śaiva* and *Śākta*, importance of which would be discussed a little later.

6. Sealing of Lolakāditya

Black, circular sealing with one impression of 1″ diameter.

Upper field :—A fine specimen of fire-altar over which has been placed a solar disc flanked by two flames of fire (?).

Lower field :—*Śrī-Lolakāditya* in characters of the eighth century A. D. **Pl. III. 1.**

Lolakāditya is evidently Lolārkka, the famous Sun temple celebrated in the *Purāṇas*.[3] It is also mentioned in the *Kamauli*

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1. See *Tīrtha Kalpataru* pp. 94, 96, 97.

2. यदर्चितं त्वैश्वरं लिङ्गं सर्वभावेन भास्कर॥७८.
गभस्तीश्वर इत्याख्यां ततो लिङ्गमवाप्स्यति ।
इमां च मङ्गलां गौरीं नारी वा पुरुषोऽपिवा ।
प्रातः कुमारीं सम्पूज्य द्वादशाच्छादनादिभिः ॥१२.
भोजयित्वा महार्हान्नैः प्रीयेतां मङ्गलेश्वरौ ॥८५
अपरं द्युमणे वच्मि तव चात्र तपस्यतः ॥९२.
मयूखा एव खे दृष्टा न च दृष्टं कलेवरम् ॥
मयूखादित्य इत्याख्यातस्ततस्ते दितिनन्दन ॥९३.

Kaśī-Khaṇḍa, ch. 49.

3. शुष्का सरिच्च सा ज्ञेया लोलार्कौ यत्र तिष्ठति ।

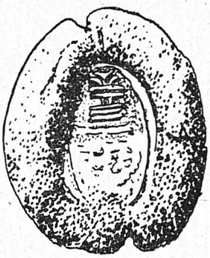
Linga Purāna as quoted in *TK*, p. 34.

लोलं दिवाकरं दृष्ट्वा ततो मधुवनं ययौ ।

Vāmana as quoted in *TK* p. 239.

C. P. of Jayachchandradeva, V. S. 1233.[1] The legend on the seal is, however, *Lolakāditya* which means "in the temple either of Lolaka the Āditya or of Āditya installed by Lolaka." Lolārkka seems to be the saṁskritisd form of Lolakāditya. Lolārkka occurs as the name of a Parmāra minister of Dāhima family in the *Jained Stone Ins. of the Paramara Jagaddeva*[2] which describes the construction of Nimbāditya temple by Padmāvatī, the wife of Lolārkka. The association of Dāhimas with the solar cult is worthy of note.

Lalakāditya-Sealing



Bhita Seal with legend *Ādityasya* (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, Pl. XI fig. 98)

Bhita Seal No. 99. with the legend Anantadattasya.

Fire altar on Indo-Sassanian Coins.

Basarh Sealing No. 9, legend *Ravidāsa*, *ASI. A.R.*, 1903-1904, Pl. XI.

The device of fire-altar occurring in the sealing is significant. Rapson[3] recognised it on a sealing at Sunet.[4] Since

1. श्री लोलार्क्कः समजनि जगद्वल्लभो बाल भावा
दारभ्यैष प्रथित महसामन्वये दाहियानाम् ॥१३. *EI*, XXII, p. 61.
2. *JRAS.*, 1901, 106-7.
3. (a) *ASI. AR*, 1911-12, Pl. XXI, 98, 99, 100, 101.
(b) *ASI. AR*, 1903-04, Pl. XL. No. 9 ; p. 113, No. 9 ; p. 116, No. 89, and No. 129.
(c) *ASI. AR*, 1913-14, Pl. XLIX, No. 607.
4. *ASI. AR*, 1913-14, p. 119.

then, several sealings bearing this device have been discovered at Bhita and Basarh.[1] According to Rapson, this peculiar device is due to the influence of the Scytho-Sassanian coinage on seals, while Spooner attributes it 'to the survival, in India itself, of the older and more original Persian tradition in such matters, which antedates the Sassanian themselves by many centuries'.[2] Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea associates it with 'eastern Iranians who migrated in India in large numbers with their cultures in the early Post-Christian Period.'[3] Sealings of Gabhastīśvara and Lolārkka, however, show that Iranians and Scythians in general and Maga Brāhmaṇas and Dāhimas in particular were responsible for the spread of this Fire-Sun worship symbol of which in the form of solar disc on fire-altar, is found on seals. The name Lolārkka is a peculiar word in Indian epigraphy and occurs only once in inscriptions as the personal name of a Paramāra minister of Dāhima family whose wife constructed a Sun temple. These *Dāhimas* are associated with outlandish *Maga Brāhmaṇas* and are not regarded as orthodox. Dadhya goddess, their tutelary deity, is worshipped by the *Magas* of Bhojaka-Sevaka[4] sept. They are differently called as Dādhima, Dāhima and Dahiya and may be connected with Dahaè (spelt variously as Dai, Dae but generally written as Dahæ)—an associate clan or sub-division of the Scythians.

Still greater influence was exerted by the *Maga* or *Śāka dvīpīya* Brāhmaṇas in spreading the solar cult. *The Deo Barnark Ins. of Jīvitagupta* II mentions Bhojaka[5] Brāhmaṇas who were in charge of a sun temple. *The Ghatiyāla Ins. of Kakkuka* was composed by a *Maga* Brāhmaṇa named Mātṛi-ravi. *The Govindapur Ins. of Varṇamāṇa Ś. 1059* states that the *Magas* "Sprang from sun's own body whom Sāmba brought from Sakadvīpa.[6] The Gahaḍavāla records mention them as "*Saura-dvijas*". *The Hund (ancient Udbhāṇda) Ins. of 169 Harsha=* 774-775 A. D.[7] contains a reference to *Sūrya-dvijas* associated with a *devakula* dedicated to Kāmeśvarī goddess. They are mentioned as worshippers of Sun in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā.*[8] *The Bhavishya* and *Śāmba Purāṇas* record the story of these Brāhmaṇas from Sakadvīpa by Śāmba for officiating as priests in a temple built by him on the bank of the river Chandrabhāgā.

1. *Development of Hindu Iconography, (*First Edition,*)* p. 215.
2. *The Dadhimātā Ins. of Drulhaṇa* G. S. 289=600 A. D. (*E.I.* XI, P.) mentions the Brāhmaṇas devoted to the worship of the goddess Śrī Dadhyā. Several inscriptions at Kinsariya (*EI*, XII, PP. 56 ff) of Dahiya Kshatriyas have been discovered.
3. *Geography of Strabo,* II, p. 245. *CASR,* II, P. 15. *Invasion of Alexander*, P. 112.
4. *CII,* III., 216, LL. 12-17.
5. *EI, IX*, pp. 27 ff.
6. *Ibid*, II, p.
7. *XXII*, p. 98.
8. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, IX, verse, 19.

The story of Gabhastīśvara noted above informs us of rapprochement between Solar and Sākta cults. This is also a peculiarity of Dāhimas and Magas.

7. Yogeśvara Sealing.

A lenticular sealing having a single impression of ·6″· × 55.″

Upper field :—Rosary, long-necked flask and a serpent device.

Lower field :—*Yogeśvara* in Gupta Script. This temple could not be identified. **Pl. III. 2.**

8. Devadevasvāmī Sealing.

A circular sealing with one impression.

Upper field :—A male fingure standing on an elaborate pedastal in *samapāda-sthānaka* posture, holding wreath in right hand and the long-necked flask in left. A serpent device in the corner.

Lower field :—Legend *Śrī-devadevasvāmi* [*naḥ*] in the characters of fourth century A. D. **Pl. III. 3**

It may be noted that flask, rosary-wreath and serpent device occur on the sealing of Yogeśvara also.

Thus, these sealings yield a good deal of information on the history of ancient temples at Banaras. The rise and fall of Pītakeśvara-Avimukteśvara-Viśveśvara shrines from fifth-sixth century A. D. to twelfth-thirteenth century A. D. may be traced with the help of these sealings. The cult-association of Lolārkka with the Maga-Dāhima people is a noteworthy fact which we gather from them.

The study of seal devics (*aṅka*) against the back-ground of religious literature is immensely interesting. The cock on Pītakeśvara sealing had given rise to the myth of Avimukta's liberation by a crowing Cock. The story of Kalaśeśvara shrine that Siva assumed the form of Gaṇapati took its rise from the seal-device of Gaṇapati. It may be recalled here that a lion before crescented three-arched-hill occurs on some punch-marked coins at Taxila. Jayaswal, there upon, made an interesting suggestion that this coin-type gave rise to the story of Chandragupta Maurya being licked by lion. Likewise, elephant below crescented three-arched-hill on coins from the same area might have been responsible for another story of Chandragupta being carried away by an elephant.

MISCELLANEA

TAXILA EVIDENCE ON THE DATING OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

This note is to clarify an issue raised by my friend, Mr. P. L. Gupta, in his article, "Evidence from Taxila on the dating of the Pnnch-marked coins" (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIX, pt. I, pp. 5-8). Being a numismatist it is natural for him to have a tacit reliance on the evidence of the hoard alone, as this is the usual practice followed by the numismatists. But fortunately the Taxila hoards under discussion are not just treasure troves found without any context. As there are associated objects and as these have been unearthed in actual archaeological excavation, their stratigraphy has to be determined, as I tried to do in my earlier article (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVII, pt. II, Pp. 27-32). Once this is accepted (which Mr. Gupta apparently hesitates to do on p. 6 without giving his reason), the question of dating may be further discussed. Mr. Gupta, however, for the sake of argument accepts my distinction of phase B from phase A of the Bhir mound, but misses the whole point when he ascribes to me the statement that phase B (i.e. strata II and I of Bhir) is contemporary with the early stratum of Sirkap. My points are only two : (1) "The phase B must be dated from the period when the Indo-Bactrians began to exert influence in Taxila, possibly towards the end of the Mauryan rule". (2) "Whatever may be the date of their (Hellenistic materials) introduction in Taxila, one thing is clear that there is no break in their continuity right up in Sirkap". When was the new city of Sirkap founded, is a debatable point. I am not concerned here with that. I only maintain that the dating of phase B should coincide with the *influence* exerted by the Indo-Bactrians. This journal is hardly the place to discuss the detail of the archaeological materials that fix the chronology. But one numismatic evidence I must repeat : "In this phase local Taxilan coins began to appear in large numbers". Marshall has given the detail of these coins (*Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 756). I need not quote the well-known view of Allan (See his *Catalogue*, p. cxxxix) on their dating, nor should I stress on technical difference (indicating their late dating) between these issues and the punch-marked series, but merely point to the well-known fact that they are not the issues of the Mauryans. Consequently they must have appeared after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire at the death of Aśoka. This fixes the lower limit of phase 3 in accordance with the simple rule of excavation that a stratum is dated from the latest object found and not from the earliest. Hence the discovery of the coin of Philip Aridaeus

(died 317 B.C.) in the larger hoard, though a fact, is immaterial, if it is realised that the hoard belongs to phase B, and therefore its date is related to that of the archaeological stratum. As the evidence today is available, I do not see any other alternative but to fix the burial of these hoards when local Taxilan currency was fairly well-known. Hence I again conclude the evidence from Taxila hardly justifies to prove the pre-Mauryan character of some of the punch-marked coins.

AHMAD HASAN DANI

A NOTE ON *KĀRSHĀPAṆA*

It is generally accepted that the word *Kārshāpaṇa* (Pali : *Kahāpana*) stands for the punch-marked coinage.[1] Bhandarkar has shown that there are references to Kārshāpaṇas of all the three metals—gold, silver and copper—in ancient Indian literature.[2] Manu defines the Kārshāpaṇa as a *paṇa* made of copper and one *karsha* in weight (*Kārshāpaṇastu Vijñeyastāmrikaḥ Kārshikaḥ Paṇaḥ*)[3]. Obviously Manu regarded the Kārshāpaṇa as a copper coin only. It is interesting to note that the reference in *Sāmantapāsādikā*[4] to the Kārshāpaṇa coins (*Tattha Kahāpanoti* ; *Suvaṇṇamayo vā rūpiyamayo vā pakatiko vā*) also implies that the ordinary or the normal Kārshāpaṇa was not in gold or silver. But no doubt, as is clear from the literary sources, the name Kārshāpaṇa was used synonymously for silver and gold money too.[5] The earliest reference, however, to Kārshāpaṇa, is in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*[6] and, as V. S. Agrawala has pointed out, the word is unknown in the Saṃhitā or Brāhmaṇa literature (excepting once in the *Sāmavidhāna* Brāhmaṇa, III. 7. 9) and is peculiarly a term of classical Sanskrit coined in the Sūtra period.[7] The non-mention of Kārshāpaṇa in the later Vedic literature, Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishadas is noted also by Altekar.[8]

1. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 42 ff. ; Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 76 ff. ; Chakraborty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 27 ff. ; Allan, *BMC. AI.*, *Introduction*, pp. lxxiii ff. ; Altekar, *JNSI*, XV., pp. 19 ff. ; V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI.*, XV. pp. 31 ff.
2. *op. cit.*, pp. 83.
3. *Manu*. VIII. 136.
4. *teste*, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 81.
5. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 81.
6. V. 1. 29., *vibhāshā kārshāpaṇa-saharābhyām*.
7. *op. cit.*, p. 31.
8. *op. cit.*, p. 23.

But what is the origin of the word *Kārshāpaṇa* ? The earliest literary sources in India which mention it do not enlighten us on this point ; they refer to it merely as a synonym of one or the other coin-denomination in gold or silver. It is only in later sources that we find some explanation by which time the Indian coinage and their weight system had been well established and therefore the process by which the original weight of the coinage was determined remains obscure unless we look elsewhere.

Manu, as we have seen, regards it as a Paṇa of copper weighing one *Karsha*. Other Smritis also give the same information but as D. C. Sircar[1] has pointed out none of these authorities gives the weight of *Karsha* 'from which the name Karshāpaṇa was apparently derived'. Though Manu's definition concerns only with copper money Amarasimha tells us that one *Karsha* was the weight of Kārshāpaṇas of all the three metals.[2] But what is this *Karsha* ? Manu and Yajnavalkya[3] do not explain it. It is in Kulluka[4] that *Karsha* is taken as equivalent to one-fourth of *Pala* ; and since *Pala* is equal to 320 *Krishṇala* or Rattis we may infer that Karsa was 80 Rattis in weight. Amarakosha also informs that 5 Gunjas (Rattis) = 1 Ādya-māsha and 16 Ādya-māshas = 1 Karsha[5] which also means that one Karsha was equal to 80 Ratīs or the modern standard *tolā*. Cunningham[6] remarked that "the weights of most of the Hindu coins, as given by Manu (*Code*, VIII. 131-32 &c) are all raised from the seeds of plants, which still exist for approximate verification" and that "the seed of the Belleric Myboloan (Terminable Bellerica) known as Āmalaka or Karshaphala, that is the 'Karsha fruit', which reaches up to 140 grains in weight" was the unit of the copper Kārshāpaṇa.

But it is significant that whereas in India an explanation of the weight of a Karsha is provided only in later literary sources like Amarakosha, Manu and other Smritis far removed from the time of Panini, we find this term as well known to the Achaemenid Persia which was geographically and chronologically nearer Panini's place and time. In the Achaemenid inscriptions *Karsha* was a unit of weight. There is evidence in the Achaemenid documents to attest the practice of making payments in silver bullion weighed out in *Karsha* and *Shekels*, and the *Karsha* formed part of the following weight system:

1 Mann = 6 Karsha = 500 grammes
1 Karsha = 10 Shekels = 83·3 grammes
1 Shekel = 8·33 grammes = 128·5 grains.

1. *JNSI*. XIV. p. 128.
2. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p.
3. I. 363 ff.
4. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 86.
5. *Vaiśya Varga*, 85-86.
6. *op. cit.* pp. 44-45.

Achaemenids are known to have ruled over parts of north-western India (now in Pakistan) and it is not unlikely therefore that the word *Karsha* became known dnring these days; the earliest use of the term by Pāṇini a resident of Salātura in the north-west is a pointer to that. It seems that the term *Karsha,* known as a unit of weight used in Achaemenid India, became affixed to *Paṇa* a word known in the Brāhmaṇa literature as meaning "to barter, purchase, buy". It is true that the weight of the Achaemenid Karsha is very heavy compared to the average weight of the punch-marked coins but so also there is much difference in their weight compared to the theoretical weights given in Manu for no silver punch-marked coin weighs 146 grains. This tremendous reduction in weight of the Achemenid *Karsha* has to be sought in certain economic necessity perhaps somewhat similar to the economic necessity which forced the Graeco-Bactrians to issue their tetradrachms in a much reduced weight in their Indian dominions.

A. K. NARAIN.

SILVER MĀSHAKA COINS FROM NASIK

Very few minute silver punch-marked coins, which are known as Māshaka have come to light. Those few known are confined to a few sites only. They are so far recorded from Taxila[5], Jahangira (Peshawar),[6] Thathari (Madhya Pradesh)[7], Rawalpindi[8], Kosambi,[9] Maheshwar[10] and Ujjain-Bhilsa[11]. Rece-

1. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 137 :
But see also Dani. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. I. pt. 1., p. 111, who refers to Cameron. *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, p. 3; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, No. 35, Kraeling, *Brooklyan Museum Aramaic Papyrix*, No 12, on the basis of information supplied him by A. D. H. Bivar and C. M. Kraay of Oxford.
2. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
3. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s. v. Paṇa.* He refers the word in the sense of 'to barter, purchase, buy' was used in the Brāhmaṇas. I have not been able to verify.
4. The weight of the Attic tetradrachm was 270 grains and the Indian tetradrachms (sometimes wrongly called Didrachms) weigh on the average 152 grains only. The paucity of silver in India may be one of the reasons of economic necessity.
5. Walsh, *Punch-marked coins from Taxila* (M.A.S.I. No. 59), p. 3–4.
6. *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, 163, 168–169.
7. *Ibid,* VIII, p. 42; *B.M.C., A.I.* p. 286; Detailed study is published elsewhere in this number.
8. *Ibid,* VIII, p. 43.
9. *Ibid,* VIII, p. 42.
10. *Ibid,* XVI, 36–39.
11. *Ibid,* XIII, 163; 169–171; XVI, 14–35.

ntly four coins were shown to me by Shri P. R. Vaishampayan, keen coin collector of Nasik, which he has picked from the ancient mounds at Nasik along with many other coins. I take this opportunity to record them here.

Coin 1. Wt. 0.1043 grammes or 1.6 grains. Six-armed symbol with three arrows and three taurines alternately placed. Only one arrow and one taurine on the the flan.

Coin 2. Wt. 0.0877 grammes or 1.37 grains. Hare with pup above and a turtle below. (Symbol 11, *JNSI*, XVI, p. 21). Only portion of turtle with fore leg of the hare on the flan.

Coin 3. Wt. 0.837 grammes or 1.3 grains. Triskelis. (Symbol 14. *JNSI.* XVI, p. 21).

Coin 4. Wt. 0·823 grammes or 1·29 grains. Symbol worn; possibly Six-armed symbol with three arrows and three dumbells alternately placed (Symbol 4, *JNSI* XVI, p. 21).

The coins are not illustrated here, as they are all of the known varieties.

P. L. Gutpa

A NEW MAHĀRAṬHI COIN.

This coin was obtained recently from a field in the village of Nelakondapalli, in the Khammammet district of Andhra Pradesh and given to me by one of my old students. This coin is peculiar in several respects and I have not seen another coin of this type.

It is of lead and is round in shape. Its diametre is ·7″.

The following is the description of the coin :—

Obverse—Traces of a *chaitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent in the centre. Legend alround. *Maharaṭhi Sivaka(ṭa)ṇasa.*

Reverse—*Chaitya* of ten arches surmounted by tree with *svastika* to right and a symbol consisting of a circle in a square to left. **Pl. III. 4.**

The *chaitya* on the obversce is much worn out and has not come out in the impression of the coin. One of its orbs is to be

found on the coin over the letter *ṇa*, another over *ta* and the third over *ka*. Above are two more arches while at the top is one arch surmounted by the cresent.

The coin was obviously issued by a Mahāraṭhi. A number of Mahāraṭhi coins have been obtained from Chandravalli, near Chittaldurg, in the Mysore State, and they mention several generations of Mahāraṭhis-Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi, Sadakaṇa Chaṭa-Kaṇha Mahāraṭhi, Sadakaṇa Kaṇha Mahāraṭhi and another Mahāraṭhi whose name is not known. All these Mahāraṭhis bear the appellation, *Sadakaṇa* before their names but the Mahāraṭhi of the present coin does not have that appellation. The Chittaldurg coins contain, on the obverse, the device of the bull while the present coin has the *chaitya* as its obverse device. Thus the Mahāraṭhi of the present coin seems to be unconnected with the Mahāraṭhis of the Chittaldurg coins

The *chaitya* as an obverse device in association with a legend figures on the coins of the Ānaṅda kings[1] but the *chaitya* on the present coin differs from it. This may be taken to indicate that the Mahāraṭhi of the present coin was not connected with the Anaṅda kings.

The reverse device on the present coin is peculiar. The *chaitya* and tree figure in combination on most of the coins of the Kura kings. In most cases the *chaitya* is of the ten-arched variety and the tree figures both to its left[2] and right.[3] One coin has the *chaitya* of six arches with the tree to its left.[4] Among the published coins of the Kura kings one copper coin,[5] one potin coin,[6] and one lead coin[7] contains the *chaitya* surmounted by crescent as on the present coin. Five of these published potin coins contain the *chaitya* surmounted by tree with the *triratna* symbol to right and triangle-headed standard to the left[8]. One potin coin of this group has the *svastika* to right and triangle headed standarad to left.[9] The reverse device of the present coin resembles that of some of the Kura coins in some respects but its subsidiary symbol of circle in square is peculiar and not seen on any other coins. The *chaitya* with the *svastika* also figures on some of the Mahāraṭhi coins. On three of them[10] the *svastika* figures below the *chaitya*. On two coins it figures

1. *BMC*. Pl. VII, nos. GP 2, 235, 236 and 4.
2. Cf. *JNSI*. XVII-1, p. 72, App. I, Nos. 6,8,10,26 etc.
3. Cf. Ibid. nos. 2,3,4,12,14,15,17,24 etc.
4. Ibid. no. 72.
5. Ibid. p. 83, no. 5.
6. Ibid. no. 29.
7. Ibid. no. 3?.
8. Ibid. nos. 8,9,21,22,28.
9. Ibid. no. 30.
10. *Ancient India* No. 4. Pl. XXIII, ns. 15.

to the left[1] and on one coin to the right of the *chaitya.*[2] But on all these coins the *svastika* is only one among many other symbols.

The characters of the legend on the present coin seem to be comparatively old. The letter *ma* with a rounded bottom is less developed and therefore earlier than the same letter figuring on the coins of the Kura kings[3] and the Ānaṇda kings[4] and also of the later Sātavāhanas. It seems older than the same letter found on the coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. Similarly, the letter *ha* with a rouuded bottom and the letter *sa* with its lower part bent far below the body of the letter seem to be far older and resemble closely the same letters found on the coins of the early Sātavāhanas, Sātakarṇi I[5] and Sadavahana.

This coin is thus a problem. It may, however, be reasonably presumed that the Mahāraṭhi who issued this coin flourished about the same time as Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. It being found in Āndhradēśa is of particular interest though its significance cannot be established in the present state of our knowledge.

M. RAMA RAO

"STANDARD" TYPE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

The commonest gold coin of Samudragupta is of what has been called "the standard type" : on obverse, Samudragupta is shown holding with his left hand a long stick, tied with what looks like a fillet or a broad ribbon with its two ends floating in air, a little above its mid-point. The king is worshipping on a fire-altar with his right hand. On reverse, there has been no doubt that Lakshmi was shown.

What is held by Samudragupta in his left hand has been variously described : Vincent Smith thought it was a spear ; Allan described it as a standard ; Altekar has suggested that it was "probably" standard, following its Kushana proto type ; P. L. Gupta has advanced a view that it was a

1. These coins are in the Chittaldurg Museum.
2. *Ancient India* No. 4., Pl. XXIII. ns. 37.
3. *BMC.* Pl. II, III, IV.
4. Ibid. Pl. VIII.
5. Ibid. Pl. I. nos, Ied 2.

royal sceptre or *rājadaṇḍa*; and finally, M. Joshi[1] has put forward a theory in his interesting contribution that it was "Indradhvaja" type, showing a banner of Indra.

I agree fully with Joshi that Samudragupta's coin types have a significance and "a definite purpose and background and that for their interpretation Sanskrit literature would afford very relevant material." I, however, venture to differ from him in respect of his explanation of this coin type.

Certain points appear to be material in examining this coin type :—

(1) An Indradhvaja is, in any case, made of a stick taller than even a 6-footer. Its length has been prescribed[2] to be either 11 hands or 5 hands. Its base was wider than its top.[3] It was a tapering wooden column, as is the case with trunk of the trees out of which it was expected to be made.[4]

The stick on Samudragupta's coin is obviously less than six feet in height. It is smaller in length than Samudragupta's height, assuming that Samudragupta was that tall. In fact, the considerable height of Indradhvaja was one of its prominent features. It was erected with the help of a pulley.[5] Its being lifted way a was acclaimed by spectators. Such celebration by them was pointedly referred to by Kālidāsa with a pun on "abhyutthāna"—

पुरुहूतध्वजस्येव तस्योन्नयनपंक्तयः
नवाभ्युत्थान दर्शिन्यो ननंदुः सप्रजाः प्रजाः ॥ R.V. 4.3

(2) There is some idea available from ancient sculpture as well as from painting, of how banners looked like. Fortunately,

1. JNSI Vol. XIX Pl. I pp. 14-20.
2. कन्यामध्योत्तमा यष्टीः करमानेन कल्पयेत् ।
एकादशकरा वत्स नवपंचकराऽपरा ॥
—*Devi Purāna*, quoted in *Rājanitiprakasha of Viramitrodaya* p. 421.
3. चतुर्भिरंगुलैर्हीना साग्रे भवति शर्मदा ।
अष्टांगुलं तथा मूलं छित्वा तोयेऽथ तां क्षिपेत् ॥
—*Vishnudharmottara Purāna* quoted by *Rajanitiprakāsha* p. 428.
4. गत्वाऽन्विष्य शुभं वृक्षं प्रियंगुंधवमर्जुनम् ।
उदुंवजकर्णं च पंचैतान् शोभनान् हरेत् ।
अलाभे चंदनं चाम्रशालशाकमयं तथा ।
कर्तव्य शक्रचिन्हार्थे न चान्यद्वृक्षजं क्वचित् ॥
—*Rājanitiprakāsha* p. 421.
5. यंत्रेण चोच्छ्र्यं कुर्यादिंद्रकेतोर्यथाविधि ।
—*Devi Purāna (Rajanitiprakāsha* p. 424).
यंत्रेणोत्थापनं कुर्याच्छक्रकेतोः समाद्रितः ।
सुयंत्रितं तु तं कुर्याद् गृहस्तंभचतुष्टयम् ॥
—*Vishnudharmottara Purāna (Rajaniti Prakasha)* p. 429.

there is, in a cave at Bhājā, a representation in stone, of Indra himself riding on his elephant with a banner held by his standard bearer behind him.

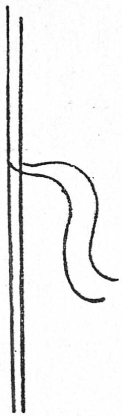


Fig. I

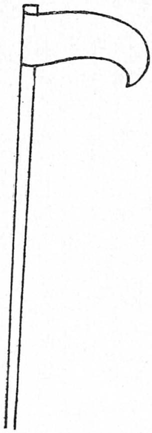


Fig. II

Fig. III

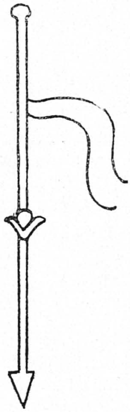


Fig. IV

Fig. V

Figure I shows a fillet on this coin type of Samudragupta ; and **figure II** is of Indra's banner as represented in sculpture of Bhāja cave.

It would appear that whereas Samudragupta's coin-type shows two ends as being quite separate of what has been

commonly regarded to be a fillet, on Indra's banner is a rectangular piece of cloth i.e. its portion away from the stick is neither torn nor shown to consist of only two small pieces.

Further, Samudragupta's fillet is, if we may so call it, tied half mast. No banner in this country was ever tied half mast. This is also clear from Indra's banner itself. But a *decoration* like a fillet or a broad ribbon or a *dāman* could be mast. This is also clear from Indras banner itself. But a tied, round the waist, as it were.

(3) Another consideration advising that there was no banner but a fillet or a decorative strip of cloth with its two extremities waving in one direction, is that nobody would hold a banner with his hand *above* it. A banner is held aloft, particularly on ceremonial occasions, of whatever nature they may be.

(4) If available details of this object decorated with a fillet or a ribbon were examined, it would appear that it has neither (i) an arrow head formation on its lower extremity ; or (ii) what obviously is a spear-head piece (vide **figures III and IV**). It has also a round knob at its upper extremity and yet another knob, a little above what has been called an arrow-head or spear-head piece.

Accordingly, it is a weapon which looks either like a *prāsa* i.e. a barbed spear ; or a *śakti,* which was similar but shorter. A *śakti* has been carried by Kārttikeya on Kumāragupta's peacock coin type (**Fig. V**)—and about its identification there is no room for doubt. There, Kārttikeya's spear is held up i.e. its sharp point is away from the hand which is holding the stick. Thus Samudragupta is holding this weapon with its head on the ground ; and Kārttikeya has been shown holding it with its head up in the air. This difference was due to Samudragupta holding that weapon while he was worshipping and Karttikeya while he was proceeding for fighting a battle. But the fact that both weapons are of comparable nature is strikingly brought out by the details of the stick near the spear head, which is common to both.

It may be recalled that Harisheṇa's *praśasti* gives a catalogue of weapons with which Samudragupta was familiar : and in that list, a *prāsa* and a *śakti* have been included.

(5) Worship of weapons before proceeding to war was a prescribed ritual in ancient India. Gupta kings have shown worship of bow and arrow, spear and of their royal umbrella on their coins ; and there was some variety in structure of all such articles including a spear.

Vincent Smith was, according to this analysis, justified in stating this object to be a spear. Its structure also leaves no room for doubt that a bamboo spear was intended to be shown. Such a spear is quite common in the Indian country-side even now; and all features of Samudragupta's spear are being preserved to this day; a knob has a handle followed by another round knob at a short distance from the handle; a tapering spear head jutting out from two right angle projections, below which is another round knob.

This coin-type may appropriately be called, the spear type.

As I have explained elsewhere, Samudragupta showed on his obverse, ritual of fire worship preceding his setting out for an expedition; and on his reverse, results of that expedition viz. acquisition of prosperity and wealth. While this *raṇa-yātrā* theme was a common idea, variety was introduced by showing different weapons being held with the left hand; and variety was further provided in each category.

S. V. SOHONI.

TWO GOLD COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

In my coin cabinet there are two rather unusual specimens of Chandragupta II's Coins. This is to bring them to the notice of numismatists.

1. Chandra Gupta II: Archer type.

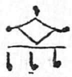
AV. Wt. 7. 8. grammes. Size 1.9 cm

Obv.: King 1. holding bow in l. hand drawing an arrow from a quiver by r. hand. Garuda standard without fillet to the r. *Chandra* under left arm between the king's body and the string of the bow.

Legend: *Deva Śrī Mahārājā-dhirāja Śrī Chandra Guptaḥ*

Rev. Goddess *Lakṣmī* seated on a seven petalled lotus with fillet in r hand, and a lotus in l. up-raised hand wearing the usual ornaments.

Legend. *Sri Vikramaḥ*

Symbol.  Pl. III 5.

The coin is beautiful though slightly rubbed off.

The dress of the King on the Obverse consists of coiffure done in braids one of which is seen falling on the left shoulder, and he is weaing jacket type coat with closed collar and buttons in front; he has armlets on the arms, pearl necklace in the neck, pearl fillet on the head and earrings. Lower portion is covered with *dhoti* with ends wrapped round each leg separately giving an impression of a *pāyjāma*. The interesting point to be noted is that the king appears to wear *a small pointed beard* (Frenchcut) the traces of which are clearly visible.

II. Chandra Gupta II : Horseman type.

AV. Weight 7.99 grammes Size 1.85 cm x 2.05 cm

Obv : King to l. sitting straight on a running horse wearing a coat and *dhoti* wrapped round the legs, bound with a sash the ends of which are flying backwards. Earrings, armlets and necklace are seen on his person. *His r. hand holds a spear, which, passing over his left leg and the body of the horse slantingly comes to the ground.* The l. hand holds the reins of the horse. A bow is seen across the body. Legend is very much rubbed off ; *ptaḥ* is only visible.

Rev. *Lakṣmī* is sitting to l. on a wicker stool holding a fillet in out-stretched r. hand and a lotus bud with a long stalk in the left.

Legend *Ajita Vikramaḥ*

Symbol **Pl. III 6.**

This coin is quite rubbed.

RAI GOVIND CHANDRA

ELEPHANT-RIDER COIN-TYPE OF KUMARGUPTA I

An essential item in a programme to be fulfilled by a new king after his coronation ceremony, was an elephant ride which took him over the big roads in his capital. In more ancient descriptions, a male elephant features as the king's mount, although Kautilya had stated advantages of riding on she elephants as a safer and more dependable arrangement than using a tusker.

The average height of an Indian male elephant is nine feet; and of a she-elephant, one foot less. The latter can easily

be distinguished by her smaller build and very much smaller tusks.

On his "Elephant-Rider" coin type Kumārgupta I has shown a post-coronation drive in the town on a male elephant decorated on a well recognised pattern as discribed by Kālidāsa[1] **(Fig. I)**. The dress to be worn for such a procession has been vividly described in the *Mudrārakshasam*. The passage is reproduced below –

ततः प्रथमेव प्रकाशिते रात्रौ चन्द्रगुप्तस्य नन्दभवनप्रवेशे कृताभिषेके किल वैरोचके विमलमुक्तामणिपरिक्षेपविरचितचित्रपटमयवारवाणप्रच्छादितशरीरे मणिमय-मुकुटनिविडनियमितरुचिरतरमलौ सुरभिकुसुमदामवैकक्ष्यावभासितविपुलवक्षःस्थले परिचित-तमैरप्यनभिज्ञायमानाकृतौ चाणक्यहतकादेशाच्चन्द्रगुप्तोपवाह्यां चन्द्रलेखां नाम गजवशामारुह्य .... अत्रान्तरे बहिर्निगृहीतवाहनेषु स्थितेषु चन्द्रगुप्तानुयायिषु नृपेषु युष्मत्प्रयुक्तनैव चन्द्रगुप्तनिषादिना बर्वरकेण कनकदण्डिकान्तर्निहितामसिपुत्रिकामा-क्रष्टुकामेनावलम्बिता करेण कनकशृङ्खलावलम्बिनी कनकदण्डिका ।"[2]

This coin type of Kumārgupta I gives glimpse into a colourful scene which used to form part of an enthusiastic celebration in the Gupta capital.

On the reverse, according to a law of parallel activity, there was drawn a picture of a coronation of Lakshmī who was depicted as standing on a lotus in a tank full of lotus and on whose both sides were usual coronation attributes associated with her, viz. a *śankha* and a *mangala-kalaśa*. Only one other element is missing, viz. an elephant standing at some height, on either side, pouring holy water over Lakshmī. Thus an elephant was deliberately shown only obverse and not on reverse. The full composition of Gaja-Lakshmī, of which the reverse forms a part, was found on medals of Gupta period, discovered at Vai-

1. स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभध्वजम् ।
क्रममाणश्चकार द्यां नागे नैरावनौजसा ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVII. 32.
2. मुद्राराक्षस, अंक II.

śāli. If a pair of elephants engaged on pourlng water on Lakshmī were not put on this coronation piece, although there was ample precedent in previous coinage, in stone sclupture and undoubtedly in contemporary medals, this conscious omission was probably due to a sensivity which held such a detail as somewhat grotesque or likely to overshadow the service the animal was giving to the king himself, on the obverse.

S. V. SOHONI.

TWO COPPER COINS OF THE CHOLA KING RĀJARĀJA I FROM ELLORĀ, DISTRICT AURANGĀBĀD (BOMBAY STATE),

During some routine clearance operations outside the 'Indrasabhā', a Jain Cave (No. 33) at Ellora, two copper coins were found by the Chowkidar in September 1956. The coins were cleaned in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, in the Museum Laboratory and it was noticed that they belonged to Rājrajā I, the great Chola monarch (985-1014 A. D.) celebrated as the builder of the Brihadīswara temple at Tanjore. The coins were exhibited in the Archaeological Exhibition held in September, 1956 at Delhi at the time of the annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.

The description of the Coins :

Coin No. 1. Pl. III. 7.

Material	:	Copper.
Shape	:	Irregular circular. Dia. 1. 76 oms. approximately.
Weight	:	54 grains.
Condition	:	In a very good state of preservation.
Obverse	:	A standing human figure, possibly the king himself, in low relief ; his left hand, bent at the elbow, holding flower or Śaṇkha and below the right hand which runs parallel to the ground up to the elbow, with the forearm indistinct, a vertical *triśula* is seen set in a round *Vedi*. A cross mark is also seen on the left side of the staff of the *triśulà*.

Reverse : A grotesque monkey-like figure with the legend '*Rājarāja*'. The '*Rā*' from the second line is not quite clear. The word '*Sa*' also appears to the left side of the seated figure and may perhaps stand for '*Saṃvat*'

Coin No. 2. Pl. III. 8.

Material : Copper.

Shape : Irregular circular with cuts on the edges. Dia. 1. 90 cms.

Weight : 62 grains.

Condition : Not quite satisfactory. The legend on the reverse is partly illegible.

Obverse : Same as that of No. 1 but the upper part of the *triśula* alone is properly preserved.

Reverse : Seated monkey-like grotesque figure. Of the legend, only '*Rā*' and the curved portion of '*Ja*' is noticeable.

The discovery of the coins of Rājrāja I at Ellora is of great significance. Firstly on account of the fact that they are found far outside the limits of his empire which included the whole of South India upto Tungabhadrā, the Māldiv islands and a part of Ceylon ; the Andhradeśa also being in feudatory alliance with him. An inscription[1] from Hottur (District Dharwar) dated Saka 9(2)9 i.e. A. D. 1007 records that Rājrāja went as far as Donnur with a vast army and sacked the country. But Satyāśraya, who is described as 'the slayer of the Tamil' (Tigula-Māri), repulsed him and recovered his territory. It would thus be clear that the warlike inroads of Rājrāja penetrated the Karnātaka but Mahārāśtra remained beyond the orbit of his military activities. It is of some interest, however, to note that the influence of the currency system of Cholas under Rājrāja is found beyond the limits of his empire, particularly in the gold coinage of Western Chālukyas and the Kadambas of Goa[2]. The discovery of the coins at Ellora has therefore far-reaching cultural significance. Their presence in the vicinity of the Jain Caves at Ellora, which contain extensive paintings on their walls and ceiling, attributed to the *circa* 10th Centry A. D. is pregnant with possibilities of cultural contact between Mahārāśtra and South India. The popularity of the art of painting in South India as a means of artistic expression is amply demonstrated by the presence of

1. *E. I.* XVI. p. 74.
2. K. A. Nilakantba Sastri, *The Cholas*, p. 618.

paintings at the Jain shrine at Sittanivāsal (7th century A. D.), the Vishnu shrine at Tirumalaipuram (7th century A. D.), the Kailasnāth temple at Kānchipuram (8th century A. D.) and the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore (10th-11th century A. D.), to quote only the more important centres. One wonders whether artists who worked in the great Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore paid a visit to Ellora cave temples to study the methods employed by contemporary and earlier masters whose paintings adorned the Buddhist, Hindu and Jain caves and whose reknown must have reached the Chola capital. It is also not unlikely that the fame of Ellora as a centre of Śiva worship and place of pilgrimage, both for Hindus and Jains, had spread far and wide in the Tamil country and a number of devout persons came to this place to pay homage to the Gods and Goddesses and offered in worship coins current in Chola empire.

Another important feature of Rājrājas coinage is that the Nāgari alphabet is for the first time introduced replacing the legends in the Grantha alphabet on the coins of the earlier period. The reference to Nāgari characters may be due to the increasing contact of this powerful king with the countries north of his frontiers.

Prof. Nilkantha Sastri[1] has also thrown out a suggestion that the Nāgari legends on the Chola coins which appeared first under Rājrāja I may be attributed to the result of North Indian Śaiva influence beginning to operate in the Chola court. The discovery of these coins again at an important centre of Śaiva worship lends support to this theory.

M. N. DESHPANDE

THREE UNPUBLISHED DENOMINATIONS OF JAYA RAṆAJITA MALLA OF BHĀTGĀON

In his excellent account of the coinage of Nepal, E. H. Walsh[2] has described the mohars, the half and the quarter mohars issued by Jaya Raṇajita Malla of Bhātgāon. There are however three further denominations, hitherto unpublished, in the collection of the British Museum.

1. K. A. Nilkantha Sastri, *The Cholas*, p. 629 ff.
2. E. H. Walsh, *The Coinages of Nepal*, *J. R. A. S.* 1908 pp. 723/4.

Eighth of a Mohar. **Pl. III. 9.**

Obv. A sword (without the wreath of the half and quarter mohars); above, two crescents and two stars. Legend in three lines left and right of the sword, (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *Jaya* (3) *Raṇa.*

Rev. Legend in three lines (1) *Jita* (2) *Malla De* (3) *va.*

Æ. 5 specimens in the British Museum.
15 mm., 0.64 gms.; 13 mm., 0.56 gms.; 13 mm., 0.65 gms., 13 mm., 0.66 gms.; 13 mm., 0.63 gms., The first of these coins was published by Walsh without any indication of its weight, and was incorrectly described as a quarter mohar.

Sixteenth of a Mohar. **Pl. III. 10.**

Obv. Legend in three lines, (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *Jaya Ra* (3) *ṇa.*

Rev. Legend in three lines, (1) *Jita* (2) *Malla De* (3) *va.*

Æ. 12 mm., 0.34 gms.

Sixtyfourth of a Mohar. **Pl. III. 11, 12.**

Obv. A sword. Legend in two lines to left and right, (1) *Śrī Ra* (2) *ṇa Ji*

Rev. The obverse design shows through.

Æ. 2 specimens in the British Museum.
8 mm., 0.038 gms.; 8 mm., 0.043 gms.

We thus have a wide range of smaller silver denominations for Jaya Raṇajita of Bhātgāon comparable to the issues of contemporary Jaya Prakāśa the last Malla King of Kāṭhmāṇḍu.

A frequency table of the weights of the 32 mohars of Jaya Raṇajita Malla in the British Museum suggests that the mohar was struck to a standard of about 5.6 gms., which would mean a theoretical standard of 2.8 gms. for the half, 1.4 gms. for the quarter, 0.7 gms. for the eight, 0.35 gms. for the sixteenth, and 0.08 gms. for the sixtyfourth part of the mohar. This fits in very well with the actual weights of known specimens.

	Theoretical Standard	Actual weights of Coins in British Museum (in gms.)
Mohar	5.6	5.43, 5.38, 5.48, 508, 5.33, 5.51, 5.12, 5.07, (pierced), 5.53, 5.36, 5.36, 5.11, 5.28, 5.22 244, 4.98, 5.23, 5.29, 5.16, 5.19, 5.19, 5.25, 5.30, 5.16, 5.43, 5.32, 5.45, 5.63, 4.89, 5.45, 5.09, 5.19.

Half	2.8	2.73, 2.68, 2.64, 2.66.
Quarter	1.4	1.41, 1.41, 1.32, 135.
Eighth	0.7	0.64, 0.56, 0.65, 0.66, 0.63.
Sixteenth	0.35	0.34,
Thirtysecond	0.17	...
Sixtyfourth	0.08	0.038, 0.043 ; The weights of thirteen specimens in Geneva[1] are: 0.033 0.056 0.047, 0.048, 0.038, 0.063, 0.043, 0.063, 0.080, 0.048, 0.047 0.034, 0.039.

DAVID W. MAC DOWALL

A NOTE ON ḌHABBŪKA COINAGE OF RAJASTHAN

The problem relating to the circulation of *Ḍhabbuka*[2] coins in India, during the 16th-18th centuries A. D. has already been discussed at length by P. K. Gode in his scholarly papers pnblished in the *J. N. S. I.*, 1944, VI (i), pp. 55 ff. and the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, December 1955, pp. 249-51. An epigraphic referencc to these coins escaped the notice of Gode and it may be presented here in this short note. The *Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya*, incised on huge stone-blocks and composed during the regime of Rāṇā Rājasiṃha of Udaipur in the 17th century A. D., refers to an expenditure of 1500 Rupees worth of *Ḍhabbūka* coins :—

सार्द्ध-सहस्रा छ (च्छ) रूप्यमुद्राणां क (कृ) त्वा ढब्बूकगणं सरूप्यमुद्रादिकं तदार्थिभ्यः [Slab 25, Canto 24, Verse 30 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIX Supplement, p. 88].

It may also be added that the *Vijayashāhī Paisā*, a copper currency of the former Jodhpur State, was designated as *Ḍhabbūshāhī*. Its weight was increased by 2 *māshas* during the reign-period of Mahārāja Bhīmasiṃha of Jodhpur (1793-1803

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1. I am indebted to M. N. Dürr who has kindly allowed me to examine the specimens in the cabinet at Geneva.

2. Cf., my paper in *J.N.S.I.*, XVII (2), pp. 106-7 for literary reference to these coins in the *Dharmadvitanirṇaya* etc. The *Kathārṇava* presents the form as *ḍhevvukā* ; cf. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 1899, p. 431.

A. D.) and thereafter it came to be designated as *Bhīmashāhī Paisā*. But this increased weight was done away with by Mahārāja Mānasiṃha (1803-1843 A. D.) of the same State, with the result that these thick copper coins were once again called as *Ḍhabbūshāhī*. It is equally interesting to learn that about 12 thousand coins of this denomination could be prepared out of copper weighing one maund [B. N. Rau, *History* of *Mārwār*, Hindī, Jodhpur, 1940, Vol. II, p. 643 ; cf. W. W. Webb, *The Currencies of Rajputana*, Westminster, 1893, pp. 47-8]. Pt. B. N. Reu (*op. cit.*) also remarks that a *ḍhabbuka* coin, from Mārwār, weighs between 310 and 320 grains i. e. about 18 *māshas*.

R. C. AGRAWALA.

GOLD COINS OF SIVASIMHA

I

Sivasiṁha was an extremely celebrated king of the Oinavāra Dynasty that ruled over Mithilā for about hundred and seventy-five years (c. 1353–1526 A.D.).[1] It was though a dependency of the Empire of Delhi (Tughlak Shah had placed it incharge of Kāmeśvara Ṭhākura, the founder of the Oinavāra Line), the Muslim ruler had left it quite independent in its internal affairs so long as the rulers paid them due homage and regular tribute. Thus, for all practical purposes it was an independent ruling dynasty of which Śivasiṁha was the seventh scion. He ruled only for three years and nine months c. 1410–14 A.D.), his memory is nevertheless preserved among the people for his brave acts, independent disposition and unique patronage of Sanskrit learning. Poets and Scholars, including Vidyāpati, the most celebrated poet of Mithilā, thronged in his court. In this respect Sivasiṁha was true to the traditions of his illustrious family, as like the Senas of Bengal who are said to have devoted their efforts to "collecting troops of poems rather than to marshalling armies of soldiers", the Brāhmaṇa Kings of Mithilā were noted for their encouragement of learning and fine arts, and desiring to emulate the fame of Vikramāditya, Lakṣmaṇa Sena and Bhoja Rāja "showed no niggard hand in encouraging pre-eminence in the knowledge of Sāstras."[2] As a matter of fact,

1. Cf. Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithilā* (c. 3000 B.C.—1556 A.D.), Chap. VI, pp. 290ff.
2. Ibid. 320 ; *IA*. XIV. 182ff, XVIII. 57 ; *MDG*. 119-21.

their courts represented the Sanskrit *belles lettres* and philosophy and they literally lived "immersed in the study of sacred books and poems."[1].

Śivasiṁha's was a stormy career. He long defied the authority of the powerful Muslim rulers and at last asserted his real independence. Though short-lived,[2] it was no doubt a great achievement on the part of a subordinate ruler like Sivasiṁha to break away from the Delhi-yoke, specially at a time when independent Hindu principalities had virtually disappeared one after another. In this respect he was the precursor of Rāṇā Pratāpa who shone like the last flicker of a lamp soon to be extinguished.

II

Sivasiṁha was perhaps the first Maithila King to issue gold coins in his name. The fact is that no Maithila Kings, not even the independent powerful Karṇāṭas,[3] seem to have issued any coins prior to him. It is rather strange that though the Karṇāṭas ruled for about 227 years (1097-1324 A.D.) over Mithila, they did not care to issue their own coinage; for everywhere kings with independent status and authority are known to have issued some sort of coins in their own name, as the issue of coinage was deemed the first indisputable and clear sign of assertion of one's authority, especially in those days when the wrangling of arms was constantly heard over the political horizon. It is, therefore, probable that these kings issued coins which, let us hope, will one day be brought to light by the excavator's spade for whom Mithilā or Tirhut is almost a virgin soil.

Against this gloomy background, the discovery of Sivasiṁha's gold coins, no doubt assumes much greater importance. Two specimens from Champaran district, the citadel of the Karṇāṭas and later of the Oinavāras, were discerned in 1913 A.D. and presented to the Coin-Cabinet of the Indian Museum. These belong to the same type and variety, their weights varying from 13 6 to 14 grains. We have the following letters inscribed on both sides of these coins[4] :

Obverse—*Śrī*
Reverse—(i) *Śiva*
(ii) *Sya.*

Cunningham had also referred to a coin similar to these in all respects.[5] He, however, could not identify it, and the

1. Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.* 119-21.
2. *History of Mithilā*, 317ff.
3. *Ibid.* Chap. V.
4. *Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep.* 1913-14, 4. 248-49 (Pl. LXVII, fig. 13).
5. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, A. 54, p. vi, 18.

legend was wrongly deciphered. He read it as *Śrī Śivaye* and did not mention the exact find-spot of this coin. R. D. Banerjee[1] was of the view that these coins resemble the quarter drammas of the Central Indian dynasties of the later Mediaeval period, i.e., the Chedīs of Ratnapura, the Kalachurīs of Tripurī, the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti etc. Moreover, these coins are common not only in Champaran, but also in the Panjab and the United Provinces (Uttara Pradesh).[2] The palaeography also shows that the coins belonged to a period posterior to the conquest of the Muhammedan conquest of North India. R. D. Banerjee believed that these are the issues of Sivasiṃha of Mīthilā,[3] though the extensive find-spot and nature of the coins raise reasonable doubts as to its genuineness.

III

We have, however, to take the following facts into consideration as regards the find-spot and nature of the coins before doubting their genuineness :

(i). Students of numismatics are not unaware of the fact that very often there is a striking resemblance between the coinage of various Kings belonging to different dynasties ruling in different periods. The art of imitation goes side by side with the intermingling of cultures. Regional or foreign influence in the sphere of culture knows no bounds : it transcends geographical boundaries or man-made barriers. Moreover, the Pālas, the Chedis, the Kalachuris the Chandellas and other powers had a short spell of reign in Mithilā during 700-1097 A. D.,[4] when there was a constant clash of arms. During this period Mithilā had virtually presented a bloody spectacle of advancing armies and retreating forces, all measuring their mighty swords and finally falling off one by one. Literally she had fast developed into a cock-pit of power-politics and "witnessed the rise and fall of various powers on and from her political horizon."[5] After Harsha's death Mithilā thus came to be dominated and ravaged by the Tibetans, the Later Guptas, the Maukharīs, the Pālas, the Gurjara Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭra-Kūṭas and the Chandellas in succession.[6] It is, therefore, but natural to assume that these powers brought along with them their coinage or issued fresh coins after their own system as such, which were later imitated by the Kings of Mithilā.

1. *Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep.* 1913-14, 4. 248-49 (Pl. LXVII. fig. 13).
2. Rodgers, *Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum.* Pl. IV, p. 12.
3. *Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep.* 1913-14 14. 248-49.
4. *Hitory of Mithita* Chap. IV pp 203 - 26 ; Also cf. R. K. Chaudharys paper "*Political History of Mithita, 700-1100 A. D.*" in *JIH.* *XXXII.*135 ff.
5. *HM.* 214,
6. Ibid.

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In Champaran and Gorakhpur two new Brāhmaṇa dynasties (off-shoots of the Oinavāras) were established following the chaoss and lawlessness after the defeat and death of Sivasiṃha at the hands of the Muslim rulers.[1] With these new rulers Sivasiṃha's coins also found their easy way into those respective regions. It was only after some time that the new rulers issued their separate coinage in their territories concerned.[2]

(ii) No ruler of the name of *Śiva* appears to have ruled over the regions referred to above.

(iii) The palæography of the legends has been proved to be posterior to the conquest of the Muhammedan period. From the accounts of the Muslim historians we learn that Mithilā was raided and subdued by Bakhtyār Khilji as far back as 1200 A.D. and the Muslim influences had already begun to take concrete shape since that period.[3] Furthermore, the establishment of the Oinavāra dynasty was itself a creation of the Muslim Emperor Firoz Tughlak (1353 A.D.)[4]—a fact which indirectly confirms our contention.

(iv) In recent years, however, several gold coins of Śiva Siṃha have been discovered in the areas adjoining Raghopur Village, which is said to have been one of his important administrative seats.[5] These belong to the same type, variety, style, weight and palæography as the two specimens referred to above.

It is unfortunate that barring the Basarh excavations, there have been no major excavations in North Bihar which witnessed the rise and fall of the Videhas, the Lichchhavis, the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Vardhanas, the Pālas and the Karṇātas and the Oinavāras.

UPENDRA THAKUR

1. Ibid 340 ff; *AJSB*. 1903, pt. pp. i. 16ff. Śāstri *Nepal Durbar Cat*, p. 61, No. 1508; Singh, *History of Tirhut*, 82, fn, 1-2 ; Mitra Majumdar, *Vidyapati* (*Hindi*), p. 38.
2. *History of Mithilā*, 341.
3. Ibid., Chap VIII ; Also cf. R. K. Chaudhary *op. cit*.
4. *HM*. 408 : *RS*. 100, fn. 3 ; *Briggs* I, 448-51 ; *Barni* (Elliot. III. 292-94) ; *Badaoni*. I. 309, 317, 324 ; R. K. Chaudhary's paper in *Annals*, BORI, XXXV, 121 ; *HB*. II. 105 fn. ; *JBRS*. XL. 99-100.
5. These gold coins were found in village Nehra, Raghopur and other adjoining villages in Darbhanga Sadar, P. S. Bahera. Distt., Darbhanga, Bihar. I have personally seen one or two such coins, but inspite of our best efforts we could not secure any as the owner was not agreeable to part with them at any cost. Most of these coins, according to the owner, had been melted, and thus a valuable source of our information has been destroyed for ever.

NOTES AND NEWS

A LIST OF MEDALS DEPOSITED IN THE RAIPUR MUSEUM

BY BALCHANDRA JAIN

A number of British Indian medals are deposited in the coin-cabinet of the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum Raipur. They are listed here.

S. No.	Reg. No	Metal & Shape	Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
1	16	Bronze Round	$4\frac{1}{2}$ tolas 2″ in diameter	A warrior standing to left with sword in his right hand and a gun in the left hand.	Cluster of weapons. FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT AND LOYALITY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. COORG APRIL 1837. **Pl. V. 1.**
2	16	do	$1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas 1.5″ in diameter	Bust of Victoria. VICTORIA PROCLAIMED QUEEN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE 21ST JUNE 1837	CROWNED 28 JUNE 1838 **Pl. V. 2.**

3	18	do	$1\frac{5}{8}$ tolas 1.5″ in diameter	GHUZNEE	23rd JULY 1839
4	19	do	do	....	do
5	20	do	$1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas 1.5″ in diameter	Bust of Victoria to left VICTORIA VINDEX	CANDAHAR 1842
6	21	do	do	do	CANDAHAR GHUZNEE CABUL 1842
7	22	do	do	do	GHUZNEE CABUL 1842
8	1	Silver, round	$2\frac{7}{8}$ tolas 1.5″ in diameter	VICTORIA REGINA	Goddess standing by the side of a lion. INDIA 1857-1858 **Pl. V. 8.**
9	23	bronze round	$10\frac{1}{2}$ tolas 2.5″ in diameter	bull, horse, sheep etc. Agricultural show, Calcutta 1864	number of fruits
10	24	do	3, 1/8 tolas 1.7″ in diameter	bust of Victoria. VICTORIA D. G. BRIT : REG : FID : DEF :	ROORKEE N.W.P. AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION 1864
11	25	do	3, 3/8 tolas 1.7″ in diameter	do	CALCUTTA AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION EXHIBITOR'S MEDAL 1864

S. No.	Reg. No.	Metal & Shape	Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
12	26	do	4½ tolas 1.95″ in diameter	Horse, bull, sheep etc. 1864	AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY BURMAH 1865
13	27	do	3½ tolas 1.95″	as on no. 10	EXHIBITION OF MANUFACTURERS NAGPORE 1865 **Pl. V. 13**
14	2	gold-plated round	4, 7/8 tolas 2″	bust of R. Temple. CHIEF COMMISSIONER CENTRAL PROVINCES CALCUTTA MINT	IN COMMEMORATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES HELD AT NAGPORE DECR. 1865. AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH YEAR OF MR. R. TEMPLE'S ADMINISTRATION. **Pl. V. 14**
15	3	do	5, 5/8 tolas 2″	do	do
16	4	do	do	do	do

17	5	do	do	do	do
18	6	do	$5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas 2″	do	do
19	7	do	5, 3/8 tolas 2″	do	do
20	8	Silver-plated round	5, 5/8 tolas 2″	do	do
21	9	do	5, 1/8 tolas 2″	do	do
22	10	do	$5\frac{1}{4}$ tolas 2″	do	do
23	11	do	do	do	do
24	12	do	$5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas 2″	do	do
25	13	do	do	do	do
26	14	do	do	do	do
27	15	do	do	do	do
28	28	Bronze Round	5, 5/8 tolas 2″	do	do
29	29	do	do	do	do

S. No.	Reg. No.	Metal & Shape	Weight & Size	Obverse	Reverse
30	30	do	$5\frac{1}{2}$ tolas 2″	do	do
31	31	do	5, 3/8 tolas 2″	do	do
32	32	do	$5\frac{3}{4}$ tolas 2″	do	do
33	33	do	do	do	do
34	34	do	$4\frac{1}{4}$ tolas 2″	do	do
35	35	do	3, 5/8 tolas 1·7″	as on no. 10	AGRA DIVISIONAL AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION EXHIBITION OF 1805-66
36	36	do	$3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas 1·7″	do	JUBBULPORE EXHIBITION 1866 **Pl. V. 36.**
37	37	do	do	do	PROVINCIAL EXHIBITION N. W. PROVINCES 1866
38	38	do	3, 5/8 tolas 1·7″	do	PROVINCIAL EXHIBITION N. W. P. THE HONBLE E. DRUMMOND LT: CR:

39	39	do	3, 1/8 tolas 1·7″	do	PUNJAB EXHIBITION OF ARTS, PRODUCT & MANUFACTURE
40	40	do	$1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas 1·25″	a student learning his lesson in a garden. NIL DESPERANDUM	BUILDING OF COLLEGE. BENARES COLLEGE
41	41	do	3, 1/8 tolas 1·7″	as on no. 10	ONLY ORNAMENTAL DESIGNS
42	367	do	$\frac{3}{4}$ tolas 1″	Seated Egyptian lion. XMAS STOCKING 1942	GOOD LUCK FROM FRIENDS IN EGYPT
43	368	nickel round	1/8 tolas ·75″	Balance. EACH FOR ALL. ALL FOR EACH. KIRKEE AFCS	AMMUNITION FACTORY CANTEEN

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS ABROAD ON INDIAN NUMISMATICS.

By A. K. Narain

1. L'ART MOÑÊTAIRE DES ROYAUMES BACTRIENS, (essai d'interprètation de la symbolique religieuse greco-orientale du IIIe au Ier s. av. J.C.) by M.–TH. ALLOUCHE-LE PAGE. Didier, 4-6, rue de la Sorbonne, Paris–V. 1956. Pp. 246 and Plates 1-XIV.

This book is essentially a study of the artistic aspect of the Indo-Greek money. The author not only discusses the merits of portraiture but also the iconography of the deities on the coins of the Indo-Greeks. She has also devoted some chapters to discuss the monograms, types and style of the Indo-Greek coinage. The subject has been studied in the background of Seleucid history and Greek coinage. Indo-Greek coins and the Gandhara art forms the topic of one of the chapters.

2. APOLLODOTUS I ET EUKRATIDES (published in *Overgedrukt uit het Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde* 43, 1956) by J. P. GUEPIN. pp. 1-19 and 2 Plates.

The writer studies the coinage bearing the names of Apollodotus and Eukratides. He has discussed the various relevant theories and he believes in the existence of two Apollodotus but only one Eukratides. His points regarding Apollodotus have been discussed earlier in this Journal (cf. *supra*, pp. 121 ff.).

3. INDIAN PUNCH-MARKED COINS—A NEW APPROACH (published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol I, Number 1, 1956) By A. H. DANI. pp. 109-120.

The author makes a distinction between coinage and currency on the one hand and between coinage and weight-system on the other. He then discusses the significance of the archæological evidence and the literary. He says, "Much of of the literary squabble is due to confusing coin with currency or with a system of weights." On the basis of his analysis of literary sources Dani distinguishes three different stages in the development of the idea of weight standard and currency. He believes in the foreign origin of the Kārshāpaṇa.

4. AN ESSAY ON THE SO-CALLED "INDO-GREEK" COINAGE (published in *East And West*, a Quarterly issued from the Istituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome. Year VIII-Number 1-April 1957), By ALBERTO SIMONETTA, pp. 44-66.

It is essentially a paper on the Śaka-Pahalava coinage of India, but the Indo-Greek monograms have been discussed and a fairly complete chart has been prepared and attempt has been made to divide kings and their money into different mints. It is a useful paper.

5. A BULL-AND-HORSEMAN HOARD FROM INDIA (published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, pp. 313-325) by H. DE S. SHORTT.

A hoard of 507 coins originally belonging to Mr. J. Connolly but now in possession of the author of the paper has been described. The find-spot is not known. The coins of the hoard fall into three main groups, the first (1-50) Indo-Sassanian coins of the north-western type which probably date from the end of the tenth century, the second (51-475) bull-and-horseman coins of the Hindu kings, and the third (476-505) Muslim coins based on the bull-and-horseman design. Only two coins which appear to the author intruders are, one a Kangra coin of Bull-and-Horseman type of mid-fourteenth century and the other a coin of Firuz Shah (A. D. 1351-88). The author thinks that the hoard was buried around 1250 A. D.

REVIEWS

THE INDO-GREEKS by A.K. NARAIN, Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University. Oxford University Press, 1957. pp. xvi+201 ; 6 plates ; 3 maps. Price Rs. 26/-.

The Indo-Greek coinage and history has exercised considerable fascination on European students of Indian History. Prinsep, Lassen, E. Thomas, von Sallet, Cunningham, Gardner, Gutschmid, Rapson, Whitehead, White King, Tarn, Schlumberger, etc. have written on the different aspects of the problem, but Dr. A. K. Narain is probably the first Indian scholar to deal with the entire subject in an exhaustive and critical manner. The book covers only 201 pages, but the critical reader will wonder how so much of valuable matter should have been compressed in so small a space.

The reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks is largely based upon a study of their coinage, which is the principal source of information. The author is a very critical and careful student of numismatics and has skilfully utilised the data supplied by fabric, legends, palaeography, monograms, findspots and overstrikings of the Indo-Greek coins. In order to make his treatment comprehensive, he has studied the coin-collections not only in public museums but also in private collections. Even recognised authorities on numismatics are not taken on trust by the author ; Cunningham had asserted on Masson's pioneer reports that not a single coin of Azes was obtained at Begram. By analysing Masson's plates, Dr. Narain has shown that he had actually found a number of Azes' coins at that famous site (163). The views of earlier scholars are carefully handed down. The most remarkable instance in this connection is about the emendation of *Apollodorum* into *Apollodotum* first introduced by Iohannes Valens and later continued by Bayer and others. The author shows after a careful discussion of the passage that *Apollodorum* is the correct reading and that the literary evidence therefore does not point to the existence of a powerful ruler named Apollodotus in early times (p. 66). The author similarly discusses the conflicting readings in the *Yugapurāṇa*. The work under review is thus a critical work of great value to every student and research worker in numismatics and ancient Indian history.

We refer here to some of the interesting conclusions to which the author has arrived. Greeks were settled on the north-

western border of India earlier than the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great. Sophytes was a Greek king belonging to this earlier Greek colony, which was also responsible for the coinage of the early 'Owls', (pp. 4-6). Differing from Tarn, the author holds that the Greek kingdom of Bactria was not purely a Greek state but an Iranian one, as it was considerably influenced by Iranian religion and thought (pp. 9-10). The revolt of Diodotus was not a gradual one ; the monogram composed of the letters ΔΙΟ does not refer to his name ; it is probably of the mintmaster, as it occurs on the coins of Seleucus and Antiochus III (p. 15). Relying on the findspots, of coins the author opines that the kingdom of Demetrius I did not comprise even the Kabul valley, much less any part of the N.W.F.P. or the Punjab (p. 30). The cult of Poseidon was followed in inland towns like Mantinea and Rhaucus and the occurrence of this deity on the coins of Antimachus Theos need not refer to a naval victory (pp. 48-49). Eucratides was not a cousin of Antiochus IV (p. 57). The deity on the coins bearing the legend *Kaviṣiye nagaradevate* is not Zeus but the turretted City goddess (p. 62). Demetris II may have been a son of Antimachus Theos and not of Demetrius I (pp. 52-3). Plato's coins do not bear the date 147 ; in the exergue there are only two letters M and H, and they may be engraver's initials. (p. 71). Menander led the Greek army to Pāṭaliputra in alliance with the kings of Mathurā and Pañchāla (pp. 82 11.) There was only one invasion or raid by the Indo-Greeks and not two (p. 88). Antimachus II was probably a brother of Menander (p. 95). The reign of Strato I was not a continuous one. When he had ruled for about 35 years he was expelled from the throne by other Greek princes. Later he re-established himself probably through the help of Maues (p. 111). The solitary joint coin of Lysias and Antialkidas is a 'mule' (p. 116). Apollodotus may have been a younger brother of Strato I (p. 122). Menander, the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings, may have started an era of his own at his accession in *c.* 155 B.C. and that the dates of the inscriptions from Shahdaur, Mansehra and Fatehjung, and of the Taxila plate of Patika may be referred to it (pp. 143—4). The findspots of the coins show that the Indo-Greek kingdom was divided into seven separate regions and that there were several Greek ruling families. They did not fall together at the same time. (Chap. VI)

It will be seen from the above list of points sought to be proved by the author that the work is a thought-provoking one and deserves to be carefully studied. It is not to be supposed that all the above or other points have been once for all established by the author. It is quite possible that a number of them may be disproved, especially by the discovery of new hoards.

I do not agree with the author that the raid to Pāṭaliputra was a co-operative effort of Menander and the kings of Mathurā and Pañchāla; the *Yugapurāṇa* hardly refers to any such other alliances between the foreign invaders whom it intensely hates and any Indian rulers. A little later the work, while describing the retreat of the invaders, refers only to the Yavanas, and not also to their allies. (*Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddhadurmadāḥ.*) If Yavanas are described here as *yuddhadurmadāḥ*, one presumes that in the earlier passage also they should be described as *Yavanāḥ dushṭavikrāntāḥ* and not as *Yavanāścha suvikrāntāḥ*. On such points of controversy, we can however arrive at definite conclusion not by any critical examination of a text which is admittedly very corrupt, but by the discovery of fresh and conclusive evidence.

I congratulate Dr. Narian on his maiden performance. I am sure that it is only the beginning of a long and brilliant career of research and publications.

A. S. ALTEKAR

II

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA IN GUPTA PERIOD (circa. A.D. 300-550). by SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY, with a foreword by Professor A. L. Basham, pp. xviii + 223. I map and I plate. Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta. 1957. Price: Rs. 12. 50 or 21s.

Students of the political history of ancient India very often suffer from the emphasis given to the kings and their campaigns and the exasperating problems of chronology. Students of the cultural history of ancient India devote their attention mostly to art and literature, religion and philosophy and even to society. But the economic life of the people, which is equally valuable for the study of political and cultural history in ancient India has been neglected to an unexcusable degree. It is no use harping on the inadequate nature of our material and creating an impression of helplessness. Dr. Sachindra Kumar Maity has shown in the present book how a painstaking search for scraps of information in every available source and a careful and critical evaluation of the material is capable of producing a readable and reliable economic history of an important period of Indian history. Maity deserves our congratulations for throwing the maximum possible light on the economic life during the Gupta period.

The book consists of nine chapters. The first deals with the sources and method of study. The second discusses the geographical background and economic problem connected with land; valuable information is collected concerning the land-tenure, land-survey, land measuremnet etc. The third chapter studies the revenue system and, Fa-hsien's statements have been well utilised. The fourth chapter deals with the agriculture, famine, irrigation, forestry, gardening and animal husbandry. The fifth concerns itself with industrial workers and the sixth discusses the trade and commerce during the Gupta period. The seventh chapter deals with the various types of labour and the allied problems and the eighth deals with the corporate economic life. The ninth chapter studies currency and exchange and meneylending. There are three appendices, one dealing with the economic life from Brihatsamhita and Brihat-Jātakam of Varāhamihira, the second gives tables of recorded land sales in the Gupta period and the third gives the result of his investigations about the gold content of the Gupta coins. It has a well classified bibliography and a useful index.

The book, which was accepted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of London, is thus undoubtedly a comprehensive survey of the various aspects of economic Life of India from circa 300 to 550 A.D. and is certainly much wider in scope and critical in treatment than earlier works on this subject. Apart from the Indian literary sources which Maity has thoroughly utilised he has brought to service such foreign literary sources as the works of Procopius of Caesarea, a Byzantine writer and the Law Digests of the Byzantine emperor Justinian.

In the chapter on currency, exchange and money-lending Maity has discussed the coinage of the Gupta kings with an open mind and he has not been satisfied with the results of earlier numismatic studies ; he took pains to study the gold content of the Gupta coins by checking the earlier reports on the specific gravity of the gold coins and he concludes that Chandragupta-Kumaradevi type of coins were minted by Chandraguta I himself, especially as their gold content is appreciably higher than that of any of the coins of Samudragupta. He has utilised the literary sources of the period also for arriving at conclusions of economic importance from the coins. Maity is of opinion that the silver Kārshāpaṇa of Nārada and Brihaspati is not the same as the *rūpaka* of the inscription, but is much smaller than the latter. "Thus it can be conjectured," says Maity, "that the tables of Nārada and Brihaspati hardly correspond to the actual weights and denominations of the Gupta coinage." The author has also discussed the reasons for the abundance of gold money in the Gupta period.

No doubt many of the conclusions of Maity are only tentative and there are points where students of this subject will have to agree to differ. But the spirit of his approach to the problems must be commended for not only he does not claim undue certainty for his theories but as A. L. Basham has rightly remarked in his *Foreword* also for "his honest refusal to gild the lily." There are scholars, senior and eminent too, who very often betray their weakness for the life in the Gupta period.

Surely the contribution of Dr. S. K. Maity will be received with much appreciation as a distinct and valuable study in the field.

A. K. NARAIN.

III

EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR. by SUNIL CHANDRA RAY. With forword by Sardar K. M. Panikkar. pp. xxv + 241. 1 map and 8 plates. Published by the author. To be had from, U. N. Dhur & Sons Private Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterji St., Calcutta, 12.

Kashmir is attracting the attention of the world today. Historians and politicians alike are interested in Kashmir. The history and culture of this fascinating valley is not only bound to be instructive today but is destined to be of permanent value. If the geography of Kashmir is of great significance the history of the valley is no less pregnant, and the culture of the people is really of an abiding interest. Kashmir has been fortunate in having a historian like Kalhana and a history like Rājatangiṇi. But unfortunately not much justice has been done to the history and culture of Kashmir – the most history-conscious people in India—by modern writers. Sunil Chandra Ray deserves our congratulations for having brought out a connected narrative of Kasmir's political and cultural life in the pre--Mohammedan period.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, a historian of insight and vision, has very well remarked in his foreword to the book : "Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of his most remarkable books that

Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in latter Buddhist literature."

The book consists of nine chapters. The first deals with the land and people; the ancient geography of the country and the etnological background of the population. The second gives the 'political background' of the people and attempt has been made to trace the political trends of the different periods of Kasimir's ancient history. The third chapter deals with the 'Society', the caste-system, classes of people and the position of women. The fourth one presents a detailed account of the agriculture, industry and trade, that is, the economic condition of the country in early period; this chapter also deals with, naturally, the coinage of Kashmir. The fifth chapter deals with the administrative history of Kashmir and the sixth with religion of the people. The seventh presents a survey of the entire literature of the valley from the earliest times upto the Muslim period. The eighth chapter describes the art and architecture of the velley and the last, the ninth, gives a picture of the different aspects of the daily life of the people, their customs and manners, dress and ornaments and games and amusements.

Undoubtedly, Dr. Ray, whose book represents the substantial portion of a thesis approved for the Doctor of Philosophy degree of the University of Calcutta, has based his account on all available sources, literary, archaeological, numismatic, foreign reports etc. It is not clear however why he has divided the indigenous sources into two groups, Indian and Kashmirean.

Obviously it has been to Dr. Ray's advantage to have written after the monumental study of Rājataraṅgiṇi by Sir Aurel Stein but this has also been his disadvantage for the author is not satisfied himself by the fact that he has not been able to give strikingly new material and conclusions in all his chapters. But he need not be apologetic for the amount of new material he has given weighs definitely much more than what he considers the already known. And he has fully justified his subscription to the view that the history of a country is indeed the story of the people by the overwhelming emphasis he has given to the cultural history against the political.

The chapter on economic conditions deals with the medium of exchange in ancient Kashmir. Dr. Ray has tried to give in brief a survey of the main aspects of Kashmir coinage and has discussed the reasons for the withdrawal of gold coinage from the 9th century onwards. But surely the treatment of problems in this section is very summary and the reader may wish not only an elaboration and elucidation of the matter but

also a more critical evaluation of the relevant points in discussion. The author has tried to show that the general economic condition of the country finds its reflection in the coins.

I commend this book to all students of Indology and Kashmir affairs not only because it is a valuable addition to our knowledge of regional histories which do need our attention but also because of its lucid presentation of the available material. The printers of the book, it must be admitted, have done a good job of their work.

A. K. NARAIN.

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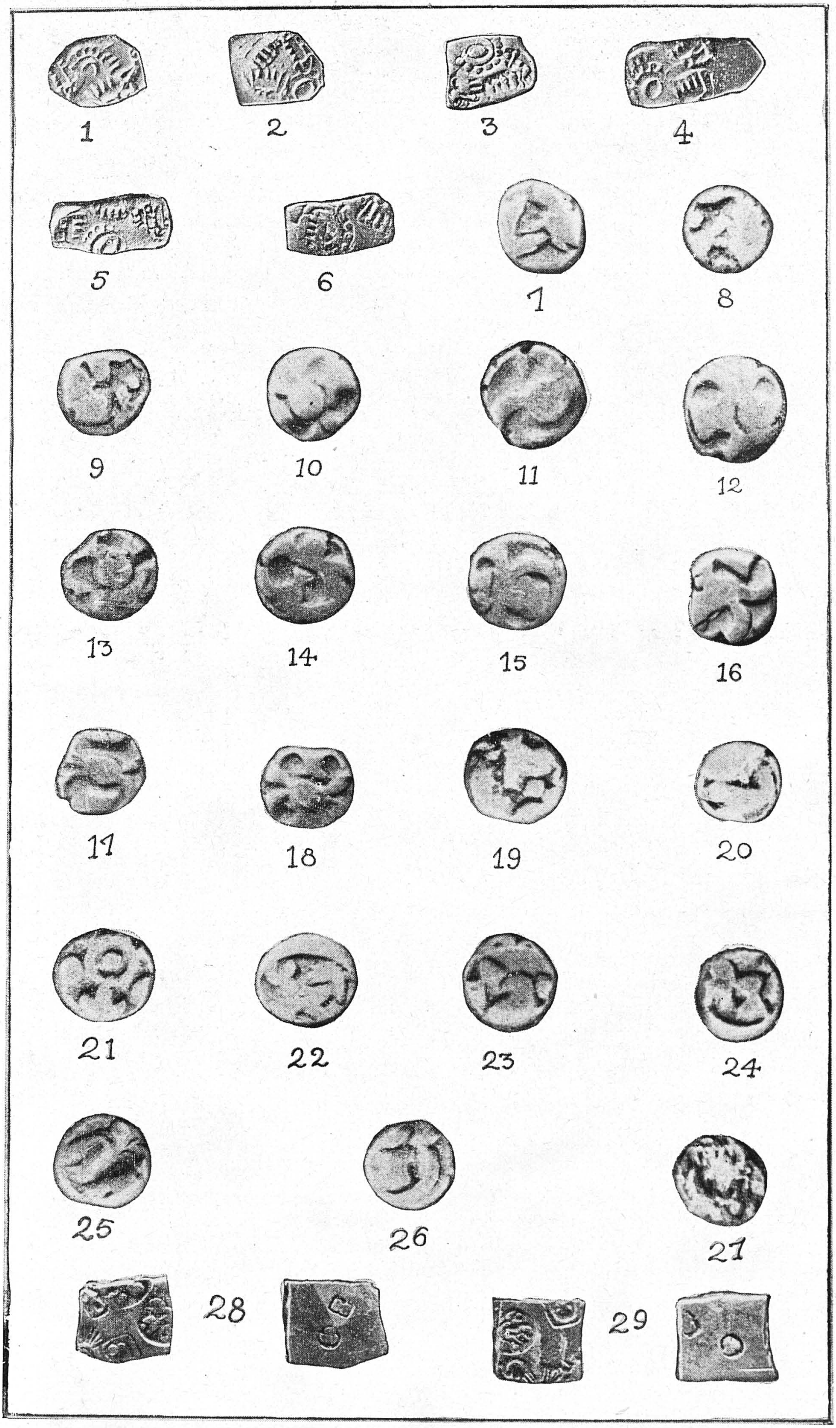
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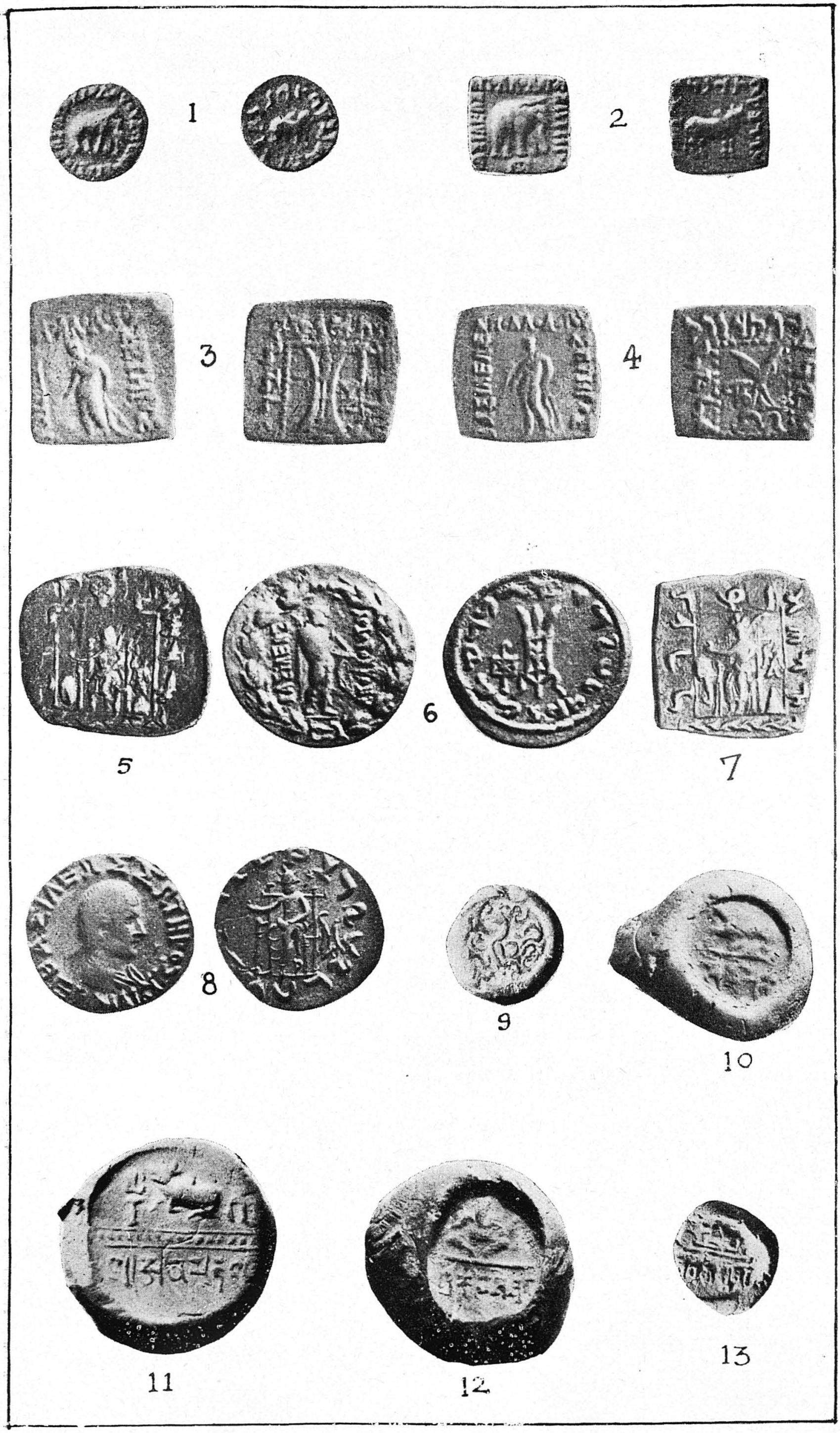

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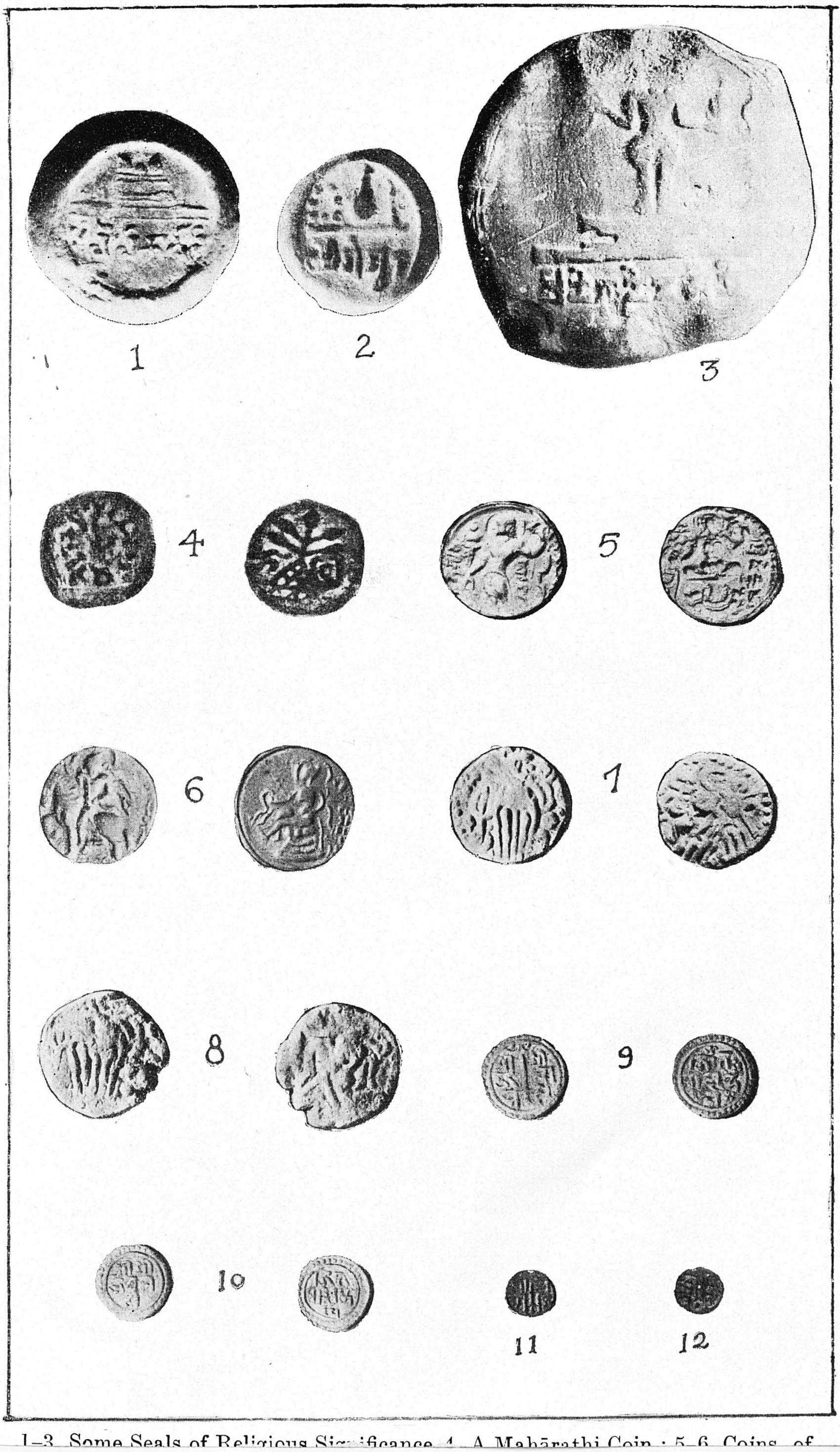

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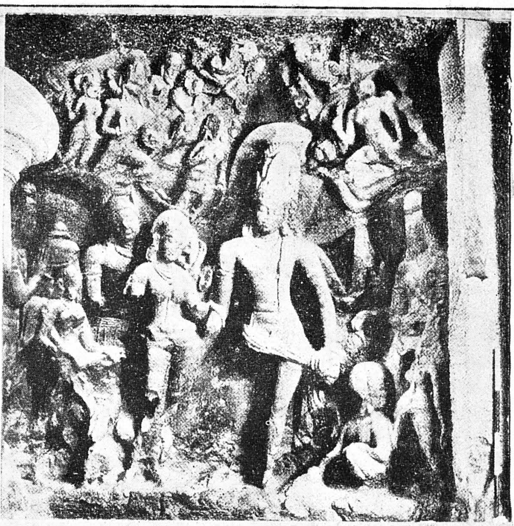
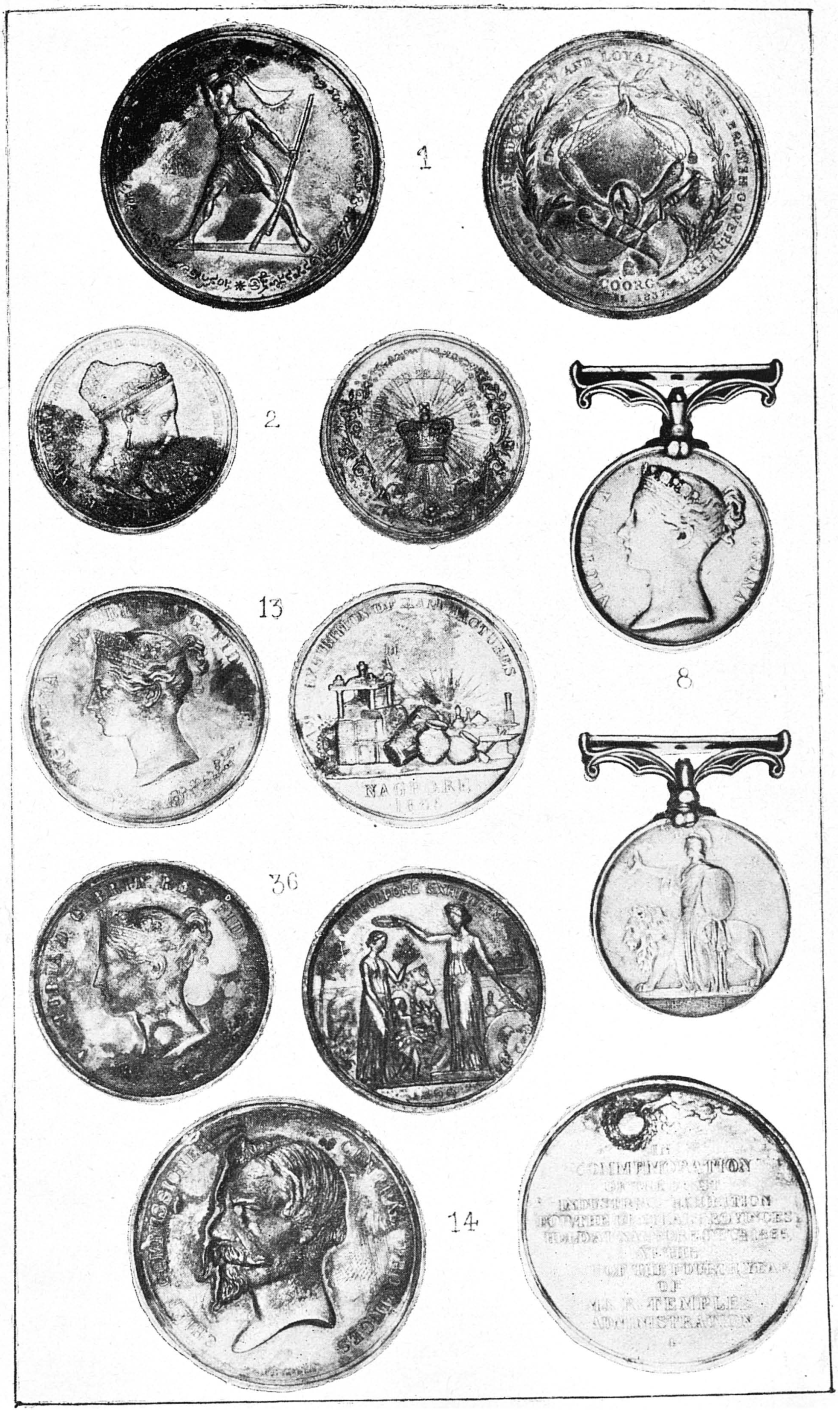


1. Kalyāṇa-Sundara Image, Elephanta Cave No. I.

2. A bacchanalian scene from Ajanta cave No. I.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